

Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		23976655	ELDER	CHARITA	LASHUN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		52899952	ELIAS	NAGISAT	OLAMIDE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		35667716	ELIAS	RASHEED	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		38776696	FARIAS	STACY	ANN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50621226	FAROOQ	ANEELA	N
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		30217814	FERGUSON	ALTON	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		36245850	FERGUSON	SHENICE	ANNE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		30089783	FERNANDEZ	ALAIN	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		52391133	FISHER	JACKSON	MARK
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		42138149	FISHER	PATRICIA	RAMAR
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		30432116	FONTENOT	GREGORY	BERNARD

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		19727692	FONTENOT	ROCHQUEL	C
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		35971498	GALINDO	MARTHA	L
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		56791338	GARCIA	RUBIDIA	BLANCA
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		51175560	GASPER- BOWLES	LESHEQUA	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50266170	GOMEZ	JAVIER	A
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		42057893	GONZALES	NATHAN	GARZA
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		31966013	GONZALEZ	PATRICK	MICHAEL
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		40388480	HANDY	JAMES	ARTHUR
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		28476836	HARRISON	SHANNON	DENISE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		57357543	HERMAN	AUDRA	CAROLINA

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		41593815	Herrera	Harold	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		40042087	HOANG	QUYNH	DUNG
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County			HUSER	SHEA	BESS
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		52317740	JACKSON	ROBERT	J
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		36298669	JONES	RHANNON	RENEE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		33200049	JORDAN	YOLANDA	DAWN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		37312584	KAMPF	MATTHEW	FRANKLIN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		52371531	KASSA	GENNET	B
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		31605876	KELLEY	RAY	BERNARD

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		27943588	KIRSHY	JOHN	W
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		32562001	KNOX	JEFFREY	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		41747155	KNOX	PATTI	D.
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		58382813	Le	Ariel	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50188127	LEAL	ANGEL	M
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50654797	LEASSEAR	DEBRA	DENISE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		52674223	LOBRE	WENDY	DEES
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50196765	LONG	MICHAEL	KAILER
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50577212	LOVINGS	LAKEISHA	MARIE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		31476450	LUCILLE	FREDDIE	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50419076	MARQUEZ	CANDICE	LEE

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		55631683	MAURICE	CEDRIC	KARL
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		16236861	MCGARVEY	JOHN	HOMER
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		52947900	MCKENZIE	CRAIG	NEAL
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		41687278	MCLEAN	JENNY	KAREN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		37716511	MCLEMORE	LADON	CURTIS
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		41653619	MURPHY	NICTIA	LYNN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		32436198	NGUYEN	KIMLAN	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		28607232	ORANGE- LUCILLE	ROSALYN	L
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		38253233	ORCUTT	BRANDAN	DAVID
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		41160557	ORCUTT (Olsovsky)	LARISSA	ANNE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		36315604	ORTIZ	JESUS	

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		35000132	OUTLAND	RICHARD	BERNARD
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		27615459	PABIJAN	DAVID	JOHN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		39779889	PARVEEN	ARSHAD	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County			PATILLO	WILLIAM	OTIS
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		39195797	PATRICK- ALLISON	DWANA	LYNN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		40733578	PAYNE	LAMONT	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		37562972	PEARSE	CLARA	O
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		39978044	PHAN	DENISE	THI
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		52655412	PHILLIPS	REUBEN	J
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County			POST	DANIEL	PATRICK

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		41260787	PRIOR	MELISSA	RODKEY
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		29747615	PUCCIARELLO	TONI	RENEE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		35217207	PUCIO	ROBERT	BUENAVENT E
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50715515	PUGH	ALLEGRA	P
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		19815315	PUIG	ALICE	MARIE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		56120629	RAMIREZ	FRANGELIC A	NMI
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		51043172	RAMIREZ	JOHNNY	EUGENE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		35813104	REID	ELETHISA	PRATT
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		34200691	ROBINSON	CHARNETT	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		55820971	ROBINSON	KENNETH	PAUL

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		15017650	RUSSELL	WENDY	RENEE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		34123091	SAMUELS	NIKKI	ALAINA
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50087733	SCOTT	BRIAN	KEITH
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		41665613	SEALES- HAWTHORNE	VANESSA	ELENA
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50421809	SEPULBEDA (Gomez)	ELIANA	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		36227932	SHARP	CYNTHIA	RENTERIA
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		37769973	SHARP	SHAWN	DARRON
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		31123821	SOKOYA	BABATUNDE	O
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		35649474	SOOMRO	HUSSAIN	H
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		23314099	STAATS	ALEDIGNA	M

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		31738727	STAATS	MICHAEL	RODNEY
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		52928140	STEWART	JENNIFER	JANE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		34110965	STOKES	JEANETTE	A (ANDERSON)
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		36628964	TAYLOR- BOOKER	CAROLYN	DENISE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		52731346	TERRY	SHERRY	LYNN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		26698955	THOMAS	KENNETH	O
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		28777746	THOMPSON	KENNETH	MICHAEL
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		40048159	TU	JENNIE	YEN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		41755166	URELL	JACQUELIN E	MARIE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		35993641	URZUA	NANCY	GARZA
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		55716856	VIGELIS	PHAIK	LEO

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		34039586	VORRICE	BRIDGET	PRUSHETTE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		41069691	WALLACE	KRISTIN	NICOLE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		33152539	WAPPLER	BEVERLY	FRIEND
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		56259245	WARNER	NITOSHA	RAYNETTE
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		40507477	WILLIAMS, Jr.	LACY	KIRT
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		35925262	WILLIS	JOSEPH	MICHAEL
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		51752376	WOKA	EMEKA	T
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		35863935	WOLF	DIGNA	DELAROSA
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		32076390	WU	MARIA	CHIU
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		40220410	WYATT	KAPREA	L.

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50579549	YANCY	MYRTLE	ANN
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		36115251	YASSINE	ALI	
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		39558432	YATES	JIMMIE	HARRISON
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		41603259	YUSUFF	FOLASHAD E	A.
Registered in HD149. Moved outside of Harris County		50568492	ZULUAGA	ALBA	CECILIA
Registered inside HD149. Voted in wrong precinct. Did not move.		57608127	Holder	Tedia	Tilda
Registered inside HD149. Voted in wrong precinct. Did not move.		55453260	Salazar	Roxana	Margarita
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		57812950	Cohens	Mingon	Suezzette
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		32494668	Ewing	James	Michael
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		27313402	Ezemba	Victor	Chima

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		29123015	Fisher	Charles	Lee
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		39625728	Hunter	Natisha	Michelle
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		51471969	Jenkins	David	Hollis
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		39699624	Okeze	Helen	Chinyere
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		39849351	Okeze	Ignatius	Onuoha

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		41929829	Oriahi	Emmanuel	Nkonye
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		58384280	Rachal	Karen	
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		37646510	Swayzer	Sharone	Evelt
Registered outside HD149. Moved into HD149.		29414547	Zaheer	Isra	Shamsi
Registered outside HD149. Voted inside HD149. Did not move.		58385824	Gray	Robert	Harold
Registered outside HD149. Voted inside HD149. Did not move.		51349496	Ihekweazu	Ikenna	Kelechi

Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Registered outside HD149. Voted inside HD149. Did not move.		39776679	Nwanko	Christiana	O.
Registered outside HD149. Voted inside HD149. Did not move.			Okongwu	Nonyem	
Registered outside HD149. Voted inside HD149. Did not move.		34878348	Okoro	Patrick	I
Registered outside HD149. Voted inside HD149. Did not move.		55945174	Outlaw	L.C.	
Registered outside HD149. Voted inside HD149. Did not move.		26726091	Parfrey	Bryon	Arthur
Voted Twice	Voted Twice by Mail	12080057 & 40437964	Aguirre	Maria	Peralta & Teresa
Voted Twice	Voted Twice by Mail	11425006	Odum	Bobbe / Bobb	Stierwalt / Joe
Voted Twice	Voted Twice by Mail	34967984 & 26638593	Vu	Loan	H & Thi
Voted Twice	Voted Twice on Election Day	35114933	Haverkamp	David	Scott
Voted Twice	Voted Twice on Election Day	37654332	Hoang	Augustine	
Voted Twice	Voted Twice on Election Day	19566132	Jolly	Thomas	Glen
Voted Twice	Voted Twice on Election Day	55786438	Look	Karla	Maria

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Category	Sub-Category	Cert #	Last Name	First Name	Middle Name
Voted Twice	Voted Twice on Election Day	40927923 & 57171977	Medina/Medran O	Betty/Karen	Casiano/Vane ssa
Voted Twice	Voted Twice on Election Day	39309513	Sanghani	Suhas	K
Voted Twice	Voted Twice on Election Day	37572591 & 16011934	Smith (Sr)	Sylvester	
Voted Twice	Voted Twice: by Mail and on Election Day	32934549	McDade	Zona	Self
Voted Twice	Voted Twice: Early-In- Person and Election Day	52947470	Chung	Chen-Hua	
Voted Twice	Voted Twice: Early-In- Person and Election Day	37513074	Dorn	Adrian	Demetrius
Voted Twice	Voted Twice: Early-In- Person and Election Day	20853909	Gonzalez	Jorge	Luis
Voted Twice	Voted Twice: Early-In- Person and Election Day	17297219	Mercado	Efren	Cruz
Voted Twice	Voted Twice: Early-In- Person and Election Day	41314444 & 41368531	Nguyen	Tan & Tien	Thanh
Voted Twice	Voted Twice: Early-In- Person and Election Day	41778812	Rothwell	William	Paul

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<b>Category</b>	<b>Sub-Category</b>	<b>Cert #</b>	<b>Last Name</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Middle Name</b>
Voted Twice	Voted Twice: Early-In-Person and Election Day	50343359	Runnels	Harold	James
Voter History File Issue	Invalid Voter is ON Voter History File	40944688	Adodo	George	Aisedon
Voter History File Issue	Invalid Voter is ON Voter History File	19325893	Galilee	Veronica	Gail
Voter History File Issue	Invalid Voter is ON Voter History File	52019741	Garcia	Daniel	
Voter History File Issue	Invalid Voter is ON Voter History File	40216897	Graham	Katherine	Haule
Voter History File Issue	Valid Voter not on Voter History File	57947467	Hubbard	Dominique	Shadel
Voter History File Issue	Valid Voter not on Voter History File	58347907	Washington	Brandon	Kerwin
+ 68 Cert #'s (Exhibit 4) work incomplete					

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**Written Testimony of Robert G ("Grant") Lannon**

I am a Vietnam combat veteran. I was a Forward Air Controller in 1967-68 flying light airplanes at low altitudes above the battlefield to direct fighter bombers to their targets below. One of the reasons I went to Vietnam was to protect the principles of this representative republic which depends on the right of every citizen to vote. Was it more "inconvenient" to go to Vietnam that it is for someone to verify registration information when it is time to vote? My Texas comrades-in-arms are stationed around the world, risking their lives to protect us from current enemies who would destroy this country. However, they are being demeaned even now when their ballot is canceled out by someone who should not be voting because they are not who they say they are. SB 362 ATTEMPTS to ensure that the right to vote is reserved only for those who are eligible to vote. There are many problems with this bill but I feel it is better than nothing. Please respect me and others who are proud to be "inconvenienced" as defenders of freedom. Pass SB 362 and require voters to verify information they provide on their voter registration by presenting some kind of acceptable identification.

1-1 By: Fraser, Estes, Nelson, Nichols S.B. No. 362  
 1-2 (In the Senate - Filed December 15, 2008; February 17, 2009,  
 1-3 read first time and referred to Committee of the Whole Senate;  
 1-4 March 11, 2009, reported favorably by the following vote: Yeas 20,  
 1-5 Nays 12; March 11, 2009, sent to printer.)

1-6 A BILL TO BE ENTITLED  
 1-7 AN ACT

1-8 relating to requiring a voter to present proof of identification.

1-9 BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF TEXAS:

1-10 SECTION 1. Subchapter A, Chapter 15, Election Code, is  
 1-11 amended by adding Section 15.005 to read as follows:

1-12 Sec. 15.005. NOTICE OF IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.

1-13 (a) The voter registrar of each county shall provide notice of the  
 1-14 identification requirements for voting prescribed by Chapter 63 and  
 1-15 a detailed description of those requirements with each voter  
 1-16 registration certificate issued under Section 13.142 or renewal  
 1-17 registration certificate issued under Section 14.001.

1-18 (b) The secretary of state shall prescribe the wording of  
 1-19 the notice to be included on the certificate under this section.

1-20 SECTION 2. Subchapter A, Chapter 31, Election Code, is  
 1-21 amended by adding Section 31.012 to read as follows:

1-22 Sec. 31.012. VOTER IDENTIFICATION EDUCATION. The secretary  
 1-23 of state and the voter registrar of each county that maintains a  
 1-24 website shall provide notice of the identification requirements for  
 1-25 voting prescribed by Chapter 63 on each entity's respective  
 1-26 website. The secretary of state shall prescribe the wording of the  
 1-27 notice to be included on the websites.

1-28 SECTION 3. Section 32.111, Election Code, is amended by  
 1-29 adding Subsection (c) to read as follows:

1-30 (c) The training standards adopted under Subsection (a)  
 1-31 must include provisions on the acceptance and handling of the  
 1-32 identification presented by a voter to an election officer under  
 1-33 Section 63.001.

1-34 SECTION 4. Subsection (a), Section 32.114, Election Code,  
 1-35 is amended to read as follows:

1-36 (a) The county clerk shall provide one or more sessions of  
 1-37 training using the standardized training program and materials  
 1-38 developed and provided by the secretary of state under Section  
 1-39 32.111 for the election judges and clerks appointed to serve in  
 1-40 elections ordered by the governor or a county authority. Each  
 1-41 election judge shall complete the training program. Each election  
 1-42 clerk shall complete the part of the training program relating to  
 1-43 the acceptance and handling of the identification presented by a  
 1-44 voter to an election officer under Section 63.001.

1-45 SECTION 5. Chapter 62, Election Code, is amended by adding  
 1-46 Section 62.016 to read as follows:

1-47 Sec. 62.016. NOTICE OF ACCEPTABLE IDENTIFICATION OUTSIDE  
 1-48 POLLING PLACES. The presiding judge shall post in a prominent place  
 1-49 on the outside of each polling location a list of the acceptable  
 1-50 forms of photographic and nonphotographic identification. The  
 1-51 notice and list must be printed using a font that is at least  
 1-52 24-point.

1-53 SECTION 6. Section 63.001, Election Code, is amended by  
 1-54 amending Subsections (b), (c), (d), and (f) and adding Subsection  
 1-55 (g) to read as follows:

1-56 (b) On offering to vote, a voter must present to an election  
 1-57 officer at the polling place the voter's voter registration  
 1-58 certificate and either:

1-59 (1) one form of identification listed in Section  
 1-60 63.0101(a); or

1-61 (2) two different forms of identification listed in  
 1-62 Section 63.0101(b) [to an election officer at the polling place].

1-63 (c) On presentation of the documentation required by  
 1-64 Subsection (b) [a registration certificate], an election officer

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shall determine whether the voter's name on the registration certificate is on the list of registered voters for the precinct.

(d) If the voter's name is on the precinct list of registered voters and the voter's identity can be verified from the documentation presented under Subsection (b), the voter shall be accepted for voting.

(f) After determining whether to accept a voter, an election officer shall return the voter's documentation [~~registration certificate~~] to the voter.

(g) If the requirements for identification prescribed by Subsection (b) are not met, the voter may be accepted for provisional voting only under Section 63.011. An election officer shall inform a voter who is not accepted for voting under this section of the voter's right to cast a provisional ballot under Section 63.011.

SECTION 7. Subsection (a), Section 63.006, Election Code, is amended to read as follows:

(a) A voter who, when offering to vote, presents a voter registration certificate indicating that the voter is currently registered in the precinct in which the voter is offering to vote, but whose name is not on the precinct list of registered voters, shall be accepted for voting if the voter's identity can be verified from the documentation presented under Section 63.001(b).

SECTION 8. Subsection (a), Section 63.007, Election Code, is amended to read as follows:

(a) A voter who, when offering to vote, presents a voter registration certificate indicating that the voter is currently registered in a different precinct from the one in which the voter is offering to vote, and whose name is not on the precinct list of registered voters, shall be accepted for voting if the voter's identity can be verified from the documentation presented under Section 63.001(b) and the voter executes an affidavit stating that the voter:

(1) is a resident of the precinct in which the voter is offering to vote or is otherwise entitled by law to vote in that precinct;

(2) was a resident of the precinct in which the voter is offering to vote at the time that information on the voter's residence address was last provided to the voter registrar;

(3) did not deliberately provide false information to secure registration in a precinct in which the voter does not reside; and

(4) is voting only once in the election.

SECTION 9. Subsection (a), Section 63.008, Election Code, is amended to read as follows:

(a) A voter who does not present a voter registration certificate when offering to vote, but whose name is on the list of registered voters for the precinct in which the voter is offering to vote, shall be accepted for voting if the voter executes an affidavit stating that the voter does not have the voter's voter registration certificate in the voter's possession at the polling place at the time of offering to vote and the voter's identity can be verified from the identification presented under Section 63.001(b) [~~voter presents proof of identification in a form described by Section 63.0101~~].

SECTION 10. Section 63.0101, Election Code, is amended to read as follows:

Sec. 63.0101. DOCUMENTATION OF PROOF OF IDENTIFICATION.

(a) The following documentation is an acceptable form [~~as proof~~] of photo identification under this chapter:

(1) a driver's license or personal identification card issued to the person by the Department of Public Safety that has not expired or that expired no earlier than two years before the date of presentation [~~or a similar document issued to the person by an agency of another state, regardless of whether the license or card has expired~~];

(2) a United States military identification card that contains the person's photograph [~~form of identification containing the person's photograph that establishes the person's~~]



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3-1 ~~identity];~~  
 3-2 (3) a ~~[birth certificate or other document confirming~~  
 3-3 ~~birth that is admissible in a court of law and establishes the~~  
 3-4 ~~person's identity;~~  
 3-5 ~~[(4)]~~ United States citizenship certificate ~~[papers]~~  
 3-6 issued to the person that contains the person's photograph;  
 3-7 (4) ~~[(5)]~~ a United States passport issued to the  
 3-8 person;  
 3-9 (5) a license to carry a concealed handgun issued to  
 3-10 the person by the Department of Public Safety; or  
 3-11 (6) ~~[official mail addressed to the person by name~~  
 3-12 ~~from a governmental entity;~~  
 3-13 ~~[(7)]~~ a valid identification card that contains the  
 3-14 person's photograph and is issued by:  
 3-15 (A) an agency or institution of the federal  
 3-16 government; or  
 3-17 (B) an agency, institution, or political  
 3-18 subdivision of this state.  
 3-19 (b) The following documentation is acceptable as proof of  
 3-20 identification under this chapter:  
 3-21 (1) a copy of a current utility bill, bank statement,  
 3-22 government check, paycheck, or other government document that shows  
 3-23 the name and address of the voter;  
 3-24 (2) official mail addressed to the person by name from  
 3-25 a governmental entity;  
 3-26 (3) a certified copy of a birth certificate or other  
 3-27 document confirming birth that is admissible in a court of law and  
 3-28 establishes the person's identity;  
 3-29 (4) United States citizenship papers issued to the  
 3-30 person;  
 3-31 (5) an original or certified copy of the person's  
 3-32 marriage license or divorce decree;  
 3-33 (6) court records of the person's adoption, name  
 3-34 change, or sex change;  
 3-35 (7) an identification card issued to the person by a  
 3-36 governmental entity of this state or the United States for the  
 3-37 purpose of obtaining public benefits, including veteran's  
 3-38 benefits, Medicaid, or Medicare;  
 3-39 (8) a temporary driving permit issued to the person by  
 3-40 the Department of Public Safety;  
 3-41 (9) a pilot's license issued to the person by the  
 3-42 Federal Aviation Administration or another authorized agency of the  
 3-43 United States;  
 3-44 (10) a library card that contains the person's name  
 3-45 issued to the person by a public library located in this state; or  
 3-46 (11) a hunting or fishing license issued to a person by  
 3-47 the Parks and Wildlife Department ~~[or~~  
 3-48 ~~[(8) any other form of identification prescribed by~~  
 3-49 ~~the secretary of state].~~  
 3-50 SECTION 11. Subsection (a), Section 63.011, Election Code,  
 3-51 is amended to read as follows:  
 3-52 (a) A person to whom Section 63.001(g), 63.008(b), or  
 3-53 63.009(a) applies may cast a provisional ballot if the person  
 3-54 executes an affidavit stating that the person:  
 3-55 (1) is a registered voter in the precinct in which the  
 3-56 person seeks to vote; and  
 3-57 (2) is eligible to vote in the election.  
 3-58 SECTION 12. Section 521.422, Transportation Code, is  
 3-59 amended by amending Subsection (a) and adding Subsection (d) to  
 3-60 read as follows:  
 3-61 (a) Except as provided by Subsection (d), the ~~[The]~~ fee for  
 3-62 a personal identification certificate is:  
 3-63 (1) \$15 for a person under 60 years of age;  
 3-64 (2) \$5 for a person 60 years of age or older; and  
 3-65 (3) \$20 for a person subject to the registration  
 3-66 requirements under Chapter 62, Code of Criminal Procedure.  
 3-67 (d) The department may not collect a fee for a personal  
 3-68 identification certificate issued to a person who states that the  
 3-69 person is obtaining the personal identification certificate for the



S.B. No. 362

4-1 sole purpose of satisfying Section 63.001(b)(1), Election Code,  
4-2 and:

4-3 (1) who is a registered voter in this state and  
4-4 presents a valid voter registration certificate; or

4-5 (2) who is eligible for registration under Section  
4-6 13.001, Election Code, and submits a registration application to  
4-7 the department.

4-8 SECTION 13. As soon as practicable after the effective date  
4-9 of this Act:

4-10 (1) the secretary of state shall adopt the training  
4-11 standards and develop the training materials required to implement  
4-12 the change in law made by this Act to Section 32.111, Election Code;  
4-13 and

4-14 (2) the county clerk of each county shall provide a  
4-15 session of training under Section 32.114, Election Code, using the  
4-16 standards adopted and materials developed to implement the change  
4-17 in law made by this Act to Section 32.111, Election Code.

4-18 SECTION 14. (a) Except as provided by Subsection (b) of  
4-19 this section, this Act takes effect January 1, 2010.

4-20 (b) The changes in law made by Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, and 13 of  
4-21 this Act take effect September 1, 2009.

4-22

\* \* \* \* \*

## **BILL ANALYSIS**

S.B. 362  
By: Fraser  
Elections  
Committee Report (Unamended)

### **BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE**

Under current law, to vote a regular ballot a voter is required only to present a voter registration certificate to an election officer. Although this requirement attempts to ensure that only registered voters receive a regular ballot on election day, it leaves a potential loophole for fraud. Individuals are not required to show proof of identification to register to vote, making it possible for an unscrupulous individual to submit several falsified voter registration applications and receive the voter registration certificates issued as a result of those applications. The current process provides no statutory standards for verifying the identity of individuals at the polling place when they present a voter registration certificate.

S.B. 362 modifies provisions requiring a voter to present proof of identification when offering to vote.

### **RULEMAKING AUTHORITY**

It is the committee's opinion that this bill does not expressly grant any additional rulemaking authority to a state officer, department, agency, or institution.

### **ANALYSIS**

S.B. 362 amends the Election Code to require the voter registrar of each county to provide notice of the identification requirements for voting prescribed by provisions relating to the acceptance of a voter for voting and a detailed description of those requirements with each voter registration certificate or renewal registration certificate issued. The bill requires the secretary of state to prescribe the wording of the notice to be provided on the certificate. The bill makes these provisions effective September 1, 2009.

S.B. 362 requires the secretary of state and the voter registrar of each county that maintains a website to provide notice of the identification requirements for voting on each entity's respective website and requires the secretary of state to prescribe the wording of that notice. The bill requires the secretary of state, in cooperation with the appropriate nonprofit organizations as determined by the secretary of state and with each party whose nominee for governor in the most recent gubernatorial general election received 20 percent or more of the total number of votes received by all candidates for governor in the election, to establish a statewide effort to educate voters regarding the identification requirements for voting. The bill authorizes the secretary of state to use any available funds, including federal funds, to implement these provisions. The bill makes these provisions effective September 1, 2009.

S.B. 362 requires the training standards for election judges adopted by the secretary of state to include provisions on the acceptance and handling of the identification presented by a voter to an election officer in accordance with the regular procedure for accepting a voter and requires each election clerk to complete that part of the training program. The bill makes these provisions effective September 1, 2009.

81R 21732

9.132.552

S.B. 362 requires the presiding judge of an election precinct to post notice with a list of the acceptable forms of photographic and nonphotographic identification in a prominent place on the outside of each polling location and requires that information to be printed using a font that is at least 24-point.

S.B. 362 requires a voter, on offering to vote, to present to an election officer at the polling place either one acceptable form of photographic identification or two acceptable forms of nonphotographic identification, rather than only the voter's voter registration certificate, and makes conforming changes. The bill makes conforming changes to provisions relating to a voter's statement of residence, a voter with the correct certificate who is not on the precinct list of registered voters, a voter with the incorrect certificate who is not on the precinct list of registered voters, and the regular procedures for accepting voters.

S.B. 362 specifies that the following documentation is an acceptable form of photographic identification for voting:

- a driver's license or personal identification card issued to the person by the Department of Public Safety (DPS) that has not expired or that expired no earlier than two years before the date of presentation;
- a United States military identification card that contains the person's photograph;
- a United States citizenship certificate issued to the person that contains the person's photograph;
- a United States passport issued to the person;
- a license to carry a concealed handgun issued to the person by the DPS; or
- a valid identification card that contains the person's photograph and is issued by an agency or institution of the federal government or of an agency, institution, or political subdivision of Texas.

S.B. 362 adds the following documentation as acceptable nonphotographic proof of identification for voting:

- the voter's voter registration certificate;
- an original or certified copy of the person's marriage license or divorce decree;
- court records of the person's adoption, name change, or sex change;
- an identification card issued to the person by a governmental entity of Texas or the United States for the purpose of obtaining public benefits, including veteran's benefits, Medicaid, or Medicare;
- a temporary driving permit issued to the person by DPS;
- a pilot's license issued to the person by the Federal Aviation Administration or another authorized agency of the United States;
- a library card that contains the person's name issued to the person by a public library located in this state; or
- a hunting or fishing license issued to a person by the Parks and Wildlife Department.

S.B. 362 amends the provision designating a copy of a birth certificate or other document confirming birth that is admissible in a court of law and establishes the person's identity as a form of nonphotographic proof of identification to specify that such a document is required to be certified.

S.B. 362 removes the following documentation as acceptable proof of identification for voting:

- a document similar to a driver's license or personal identification card issued to the person by an agency of another state, regardless of whether the license or card has expired;
- a non-specified form of identification containing the person's photograph that establishes the person's identity; and
- any other form of identification prescribed by the secretary of state.

S.B. 362 authorizes a voter, if the identification requirements are not met, to be accepted for provisional voting only under the provisions relating to the execution of an affidavit to cast a provisional ballot. The bill requires an election officer to inform a voter that is not accepted for voting because of failing to present the required identification of the voter's right to cast a provisional ballot under those provisions.

S.B. 362 amends the Transportation Code to prohibit DPS from collecting a fee for a personal identification certificate issued to a person who states that the person is obtaining the personal identification certificate for the sole purpose of satisfying requirements for a photographic identification for voting, who is a registered voter in Texas and presents a valid voter registration certificate or who is eligible for voter registration and submits a voter registration application to the department.

S.B. 362 requires the secretary of state, as soon as practicable after September 1, 2009, to adopt the training standards and develop the training materials required to implement the bill's provisions relating to training. The bill requires the county clerk of each county, as soon as practicable after September 1, 2009, to provide a session of training using the standards adopted and materials developed by the secretary of state. The bill makes these provisions effective September 1, 2009.

S.B. 362 repeals the following sections of the Election Code:

- Section 63.008, relating to a voter without a voter registration certificate who is on the precinct list of registered voters
- Section 63.009, relating to a voter without a voter registration certificate who is not on the precinct list of registered voters

#### **EFFECTIVE DATE**

Except as otherwise provided, January 1, 2010.

**Committee of the Whole Exhibits on S.B. 362**

- Exhibit 1A Senator Van de Putte 3/3/09 memo to Senator Duncan  
re ground rules for Committee of the Whole Public hearing.
- Exhibit 1B Senator Duncan 3/5/09 Memo to Senator Van de Putte  
re response to concerns about ground rules for the Committee of the  
Whole Senate.
- Exhibit 2 Letter to Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott  
re: hearing on SB 362, signed by 11 Senators.
- Exhibit 3 Senate Notice of Public Hearing on SB 362 for 3/10/09.
- Exhibit 4 Texas Senate Agenda, 3/10/09.
- Exhibit 5A 3/10/09 Tag Form signed by Senator Royce West, et. al.
- Exhibit 5B 3/10/09 Tag Form signed by Senator Mario Gallegos.
- Exhibit 6 Roll Call #2 - Senator Gallegos' Appeal of Ruling of Chair on Senator  
West's Point of Order.
- Exhibit 7 Institute of Public Policy Publication entitled "The Effects of Photographic  
Identification of Voter Turnout in Indiana: A County-Level Analysis" by  
Jeffrey Milyo, Report 10-2007, Revised December 2007.
- Exhibit 8 AU News publication entitled "Much-Hyped Turnout Records Fails to  
Materialize - Convenience Voting Fails to Boost Balloting."
- Exhibit 9 Symposium paper entitled "The Empirical Effects of Voter ID Laws:  
Present or Absent?" by Jason D. Wycoff, Michael W. Wagner, and David  
C. Wilson.
- Exhibit 10 9/10/07 Report of Heritage Center for Data Analysis entitled "New  
Analysis Shows Voter Identification Laws Do Not Reduce Turnout" by  
David B. Muhlhausen and Keri Weber Sikich.
- Exhibit 11 *New York Times* article - September 23, 2005, "Voting Reform is in the  
Cards," by Jimmy Carter and James Baker III.
- Exhibit 12 Harvey Kronberg's Quorum Report, April 23, 2007 entitled "Royal  
Masset: The Voter ID Bill Will Kill My Mother's Right to Vote."

- Exhibit 13                    2/3/08 article entitled "A Clearer Picture on Voter ID" by Jimmy Carter and James A. Baker III.
- Exhibit 14                    Testimony of Hans A. von Spakovsky, March 10, 2009, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 15A                   6/11/07 Letter to Senate Committee on Rules and Administration re Hans von Spakovsky nomination.
- Exhibit 15B                   6/12/2007 article entitled "Obama Raises Concerns Over FEC Nominee's Record of Partisanship."
- Exhibit 15C                   10/3/07 Letter to the United States Senate from Public Citizen.
- Exhibit 16                   Institute of Public Policy Publication entitled "The Effects of Photographic Identification on Voter Turnout in Indiana: A County-Level Analysis" by Jeffrey Milyo, Report 10 -2007, Revised December 2007.
- Exhibit 17                   Testimony of Tova Andrea Wang, Vice President, Research Common Cause, March 10, 2009, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 18                   Report of the Commission on Federal Election Reform entitled "Building Confidence in U.S. Elections," September 2005.
- Exhibit 19                   Fifteen letters to the Honorable Dianne Feinstein, chair, and the Honorable Robert F. Bennett, ranking minority member, US Senate Committee on Rules and Administration:
1. 6/29/07 letter from Hans A. von Spakovsky
  2. 3/22/07 letter from various members of Congress
  3. 3/13/07 letter from William H. Jordan
  4. 2/08/07 letter from Gary J. Smith
  5. 2/26/07 letter from P.K. Brunelli
  6. 3/01/07 letter from J.A. Borras
  7. 2/21/07 letter from Trey Grayson
  8. 2/20/07 letter from Beverly B. Kaufman
  9. 2/19/07 letter from Todd Rokita
  10. 2/16/07 letter from Frank B. Strickland
  11. 2/14/07 letter from Tom Lowe
  12. 2/13/07 letter from T. Rogers Wade
  13. 2/14/06 letter from Johnny Isakson
  14. 2/09/07 letter from Wesley R. Kliner, Jr.
  15. 3/13/07 letter from Ray Martinez III.

- Exhibit 20 Brennan Center for Justice letter dated October 3, 2007 by Executive Director Michael Waldman, with attachments.
- Exhibit 21 Prepared Remarks of Dr. Toby Moore, Research Triangle, regarding *"Evidence of the impact of voter ID requirements, and the prospects of US DOJ preclearance"* March 10, 2009.
- Exhibit 22 Harris County map submitted by Senator Gallegos.
- Exhibit 23 Testimony of Frank B. Strickland, re S.B. 362, March 10, 2009.
- Exhibit 24 Testimony of Adam Skaggs, Counsel, Democracy Program, Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, regarding *The Myth of Voter Impersonation Fraud at the Polls*, March 10, 2009.
- Exhibit 25 Written testimony of Robert A. Simms, Georgia Deputy Secretary of Senate, presented to the United States Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, submitted by Wes Tailor.
- Exhibit 26 Testimony of J. Gerald Hebert, re S.B. 362, March 10, 2009.
- Exhibit 27 Letter from Rene Guerra, Criminal District Attorney of Hidalgo County submitted by Senator Lucio.
- Exhibit 28 3/4/09 Letter from Todd Rokita, Indiana Secretary of State, to Senator Troy Fraser, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 29 Testimony of Chandler Davidson, Tsanoff Professor of Public Affairs Emeritus, Rice University, regarding "The Historical Context of Senate Bill 362," March 10, 2009.
- Exhibit 30 3/06 Printout from Texas AG Website titled "Helping Stamp Out Voter Fraud in Texas" by Greg Abbott, Attorney General of Texas, submitted by Senator Shapleigh.
- Exhibit 31 Dashwood Case documents submitted by Ed Johnson, Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector and Voter Registrar's Office.
- Exhibit 32 Records from specific Harris County voting documents, submitted by Ed Johnson.



- Exhibit 33 Harris County Deceased Voting History, miscellaneous registration applications, submitted by Ed Johnson.
- Exhibit 34 Texas Voter Registration Application form submitted by Senator Huffman.
- Exhibit 35 Testimony of Daniel B. Kohrman, Senior Attorney, AARP Foundation, re S.B. 362, March 10, 2009.
- Exhibit 36 Photographs of Voter Education, Anderson County Workshop, 2008
- Exhibit 37 Testimony of Gary L. Bledsoe, President Texas NAACP, re S.B. 362, March 10, 2009.
- Exhibit 38 Number of Voters who have registered since 2006 without a driver's license number submitted by Senator Watson.
- Exhibit 39 The Special Investigations Unit Role and Investigative Efforts and Funding submitted by Senator Huffman.
- Exhibit 40 Slip opinion, U.S. Supreme Court, Crawford v. Marion County Election Board, October Term, 2007.
- Exhibit 41 U.S. Supreme Court, Crawford v. Marion County Election Board, on Writ of Certiorari to U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, Brief of Texas, Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Hawaii, Michigan, Nebraska, Puerto Rico and South Dakota, as Amici Curial Supporting Respondents.
- Exhibit 42 Written testimony of Claire Oxley Gluck from Boerne, in Kendall County re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 43 Written testimony of Hazel Cotton of Texarkana, TX, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 44 Written testimony of Kathy Hicks of Texarkana, TX, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 45 Written testimony of Donald Giles of Texarkana, TX, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 46 Written testimony of Anita Privett, League of Women Voters of Texas, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 47 Written testimony of Rosa Rosales, League of United Latin American Citizens, National President, re S.B. 362.



- Exhibit 48                      Written testimony of Dustin Rynders, Advocacy Incorporated, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 49                      Written testimony of Marsha Correia, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 50                      Written testimony of Rachel A. Hernandez, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 51                      10/17/08 Press release by Nelda Wells Spears, Voter Registrar Travis County entitled "40,000 Voter Registration Applications Processed in Time for Early Voting."
- Exhibit 52                      Testimony of Lydia Camarillo, SVREP Vice President, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 53                      Testimony of Luis Figueroa, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, (MALDEF), re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 54                      Written testimony of Sylvia Mendoza, re S.B. 362.
- Exhibit 55                      Testimony of Dr. Rod Fluker, Sr., Executive Director for the Texas Association of Black Personnel in Higher Education, re S.B. 362.



# The Senate of The State of Texas

Senator Leticia Van de Putte, R. Ph.

District 26

Date: March 3, 2009  
To: Chairman Duncan  
From: Leticia Van de Putte  
Subject: Ground Rules, Committee-of-the-Whole Public Hearing

Thank you for being open to discussing our serious concerns regarding this legislation, and the process by which it will be considered. The Senate Democrats have remaining concerns regarding the process moving forward:

1. We would request more time to prepare for the Committee-of-the-Whole hearing. In fact, we have at least one expert witness who because of a scheduling conflict will not be able to attend on March 10. Further, we renew our protest that the Texas Senate has no business taking voter identification legislation prior to addressing issues of broad importance to Texans.
2. We would request additional slots for invited testimony. What has been discussed is "3 or 4" from each side. We would request at least 8 from each side. Before asking Texas voters to go to considerable additional bureaucratic burden to exercise a fundamental right, the Texas Senate should be absolutely clear that there is an identifiable and measurable problem in need of a legislative solution, the perils involved with the legislative reactions currently proposed, and detailed analysis on the effects on minority voters protected under the Voting Rights Act. These crucial issues could be more completely addressed with expanded panels of expert witnesses.
3. We request that the Senate provide qualified legal representation to the Democrats, much as might happen during a debate over redistricting legislation in which myriad Constitutional issues are present.
4. We request that a stenographer be provided to record all proceedings of the Committee-of-the-Whole testimony and deliberations, and the subsequent deliberations of the Texas Senate on this legislation. The necessary pre-clearance requirements with the U.S. Department of Justice, and the likelihood of litigation resulting from this legislation makes this request prudent.
5. We request that the Texas Attorney General make himself available as a resource witness during the deliberations of the Committee-of-the-Whole. Many claims of "voter fraud" have been made in the course of the public debate in this and previous legislative

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San Antonio, Texas 78205  
210-733-6604  
210-733-6605 Fax

E-MAIL: leticia.vandeputte@senate.state.tx.us

Committees: Veteran Affairs and Military Installations, Chair  
Business & Commerce → Education • State Affairs

P.O. Box 12068  
Austin, Texas 78711  
512-463-0126  
Fax 512-463-2114  
1-888-279-0648  
Dial 711 For Relay Calls

Ex 1 A

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sessions. Since the Attorney General's office has spent considerable tax dollars investigating the extent of this problem, his testimony is relevant to deliberations on this legislation.

Thank you in advance for addressing these concerns. As always, please feel free to call me at any time to discuss these or any other concerns.

RECEIVED MAR 06 2009



COMMITTEES:  
STATE AFFAIRS, CHAIR  
FINANCE  
HIGHER EDUCATION  
JURISPRUDENCE  
NATURAL RESOURCES

ROBERT DUNCAN  
STATE SENATOR  
DISTRICT 28

March 5, 2009

To: Senator Leticia Van de Putte  
From: Senator Robert Duncan  
CC: Senator Troy Fraser  
Subject: Response to Concerns about Ground Rules, Committee of the Whole Senate

I am writing in response to your memo of March 3, 2009, concerning the process for discussing voter identification legislation in the Senate. I want to assure you that I am sensitive to those concerns and intend for consideration of this legislation to be an open process. To that end, my responses to the issues raised are as follows:

1. I am not inclined to support further delay in consideration of voter identification legislation. As you know, it is impossible to choose a date and time that is convenient for everyone. Scheduling conflicts are present for all interested parties. All Senators were notified in a letter from Sen. Fraser on February 26, 2009, of his intention to debate Senate Bill 362 on March 10, 2009, and a public notice was posted on March 4, 2009. More than a week's notice of a hearing is much more than the Senate usually provides, even on many of our most important pieces of legislation. Although we will begin with invited testimony, any other invited witness who is unavailable at that time may testify out of order, at your request, before the conclusion of public testimony or they may submit written testimony or comments.

The security and accuracy of Texas' elections is certainly an issue of broad importance to Texas. Such issues have been the subject of interim studies by the Senate State Affairs Committee during each of the past two interims. Additionally, that committee heard extensive testimony last session on a substantially similar voter identification bill. The Texas Senate also spent nearly an entire day on the Senate floor at the beginning of this session discussing the importance of this issue.

2. It would be helpful to reach a consensus on the procedure for hearing from a panel of invited witnesses as soon as possible and I look forward to continuing our discussions to that effect.

3. I am not aware of any precedent for the Senate providing party caucus counsel. Of course, any caucus in the Senate is entitled to retain independent counsel of its choice at its own expense. Therefore, I cannot recommend that the Senate fund separate party caucus counsel.

Ex 1 B

LUBBOCK DISTRICT OFFICE:  
1500 BROADWAY  
SUITE 902  
LUBBOCK, TEXAS 79401  
(806) 762-1122  
1-800-546-9928  
FAX (806) 749-2828

CHILDRESS DISTRICT OFFICE:  
119 AVENUE B NW  
CHILDRESS, TEXAS 79201  
(940) 937-0909  
(888) 887-7027  
FAX (940) 937-6994  
DIAL 711 FOR RELAY CALLS

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CAPITOL OFFICE:  
ROOM 3E.10  
P.O. BOX 12068  
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78711  
(512) 463-0128  
(800) 322-9538  
FAX (512) 463-2424

SAN ANGELO DISTRICT OFFICE:  
36 WEST BEAUREGARD  
SUITE 510  
SAN ANGELO, TEXAS 76903  
(915) 481-0028  
1-800-558-9928  
FAX (915) 655-2541

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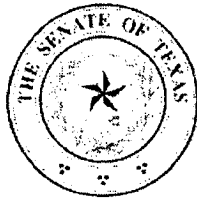
March 5, 2009

Page 2 of 2

4. The Secretary of the Senate's Office is looking into the possibility of having a court reporting service transcribe the Committee of the Whole's proceedings. More details on this will be provided at a later date.

5. Given the fact that the Office of the Attorney General will represent the state of Texas in litigation, if any, arising out of this legislation, it would be inappropriate to present the Attorney General as a witness in the legislative debate. To the extent there are procedural or technical questions relating to elections in Texas, the Office of the Secretary of State may be invited as a resource.

Thank you for keeping an open dialogue on this important issue. I look forward to further discussing the process by which the Senate will be going about its business on March 10<sup>th</sup>. Please feel free to contact me or my office at any time.



The Hon. Greg Abbott  
Texas Attorney General  
Office of the Attorney General  
300 W. 15th Street  
Austin, TX 78701

Dear General Abbott:

Tomorrow, March 10, 2009, the Committee of the Whole of the Texas State Senate will hold a hearing on Senate Bill 362 which would require Texas voters to present photo identification in order to cast a ballot.

This is a highly controversial and divisive issue. We have grave concerns that it will create barriers to voting that rise to the level of disenfranchisement of many thousands, if not millions, of Texas voters. Should such a law be enacted, the Attorney General would have significant responsibility to both enforce the statute and to protect against its abuse.

In light of this, we call on you to appear before the Senate Committee of the Whole tomorrow to give your views and state your intentions regarding enforcement of any Photo Voter ID requirement and to take questions from Senators on this important matter. The hearing will take place in the Senate Chamber beginning at 10 am.

As Attorney General, you have taken an extremely active role in your duty to enforce voting laws throughout the state. In March of 2006, you announced a significant effort to stamp out the "epidemic of voter fraud" in Texas. In that same release you directed your "Special Investigations Unit (SIU) to work with police departments, sheriff's offices, and district and county attorneys to successfully identify, investigate and prosecute various types of voter fraud offenses" and funded the effort with a "\$1.5 million grant from the Governor's office."

Three years and thousands of taxpayer dollars spent, it would be instructive for the Senate and public to hear the results of your efforts.

We apologize for the short notice on this request for testimony. However, in reading your Amicus Curiae brief in *Crawford v. Marion County Election Board* that was

Ex-2  
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prepared at the expense of Texas taxpayers, it seems you have considered at great length a similar piece of legislation that was enacted in Indiana.

We trust that you will convey your respect for the Texas Senate and your responsibilities as Attorney General by attending the hearing tomorrow.

Sincerely:

*Ruth Nandi Potts*  
*J - J. Arroyo*  
*Thurston*  
*Mario Salgado*  
*Carlos F. West*  
*Rodney Ellis*

*Judith Zaffroni*  
*Royce Wood*  
*Elton Shapleigh*  
*Wendy A. Davis*  
*John Whitman*

\*\* REVISION \*\*

**SENATE  
NOTICE OF PUBLIC HEARING**

RECEIVED  
SECRETARY OF SENATE

9 MAR -9 P6:22

COMMITTEE: Committee of the Whole Senate

TIME & DATE: 10:00 AM \*\*  
Tuesday, March 10, 2009

PLACE: Senate Chamber

\*\* PLEASE NOTE THAT THE SENATE WILL CONVENE AT 10:00 AM

---

Upon adoption of the appropriate motion, the Senate will resolve into the Committee of the Whole Senate to consider the following:

SB 362 Fraser | et al.

Relating to requiring a voter to present proof of identification.

The Committee will hear invited and public testimony on SB 362.

**The Committee will begin with invited testimony. It is anticipated that public testimony will not begin until 1:00 p.m.**

Interested parties may appear and provide written or oral testimony by submitting a witness affirmation card. Persons wishing to submit written testimony must provide 40 copies with their witness affirmation card.

Witness affirmation cards will be available at 8:00 a.m. on the day of the hearing at the Witness Registration Desk located in front of the Senate Chamber on the 2nd Floor of the Capitol.

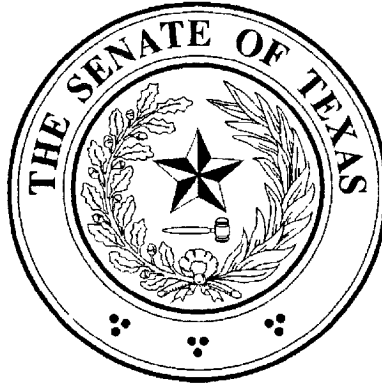
Witnesses and the public are invited to observe the proceedings of the Committee from the Senate Gallery on the 3rd Floor. Witnesses who have registered to testify will have their names called by the Chair at least 5 minutes before they are scheduled to appear. As names are called, witnesses should check in at the Witness Registration Desk for admission into the Senate Chamber for their testimony.

For any questions regarding the hearing, please contact Patsy Spaw (512) 463-0100.



**THE SENATE CONVENES AT 10:00 A.M. TODAY**

**THE HOUSE CONVENES AT 10:00 A.M. TODAY**



# **TEXAS SENATE AGENDA**

**DAVID DEWHURST, PRESIDENT**  
**ROBERT DUNCAN, PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE**

*Tuesday, March 10, 2009*

**NOTICE OF INTENT**  
**SENATE COMMITTEE HEARINGS**  
**REGULAR ORDER OF BUSINESS**  
**SENATE FLOOR ACTION**

**Linda Tubbs, Calendar Clerk 463-0060**

**Room 2E.23**

*Exhibit 4*

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## **MORNING CALL**

- (1) Reports from select committees;
- (2) Senate bills and resolutions and House bills and resolutions on first reading and referral to committee;
- (3) Introduction and consideration of memorial and congratulatory resolutions;
- (4) Messages and executive communications;
- (5) Motions to print on minority reports;
- (6) Other motions not provided for herein.

## **VOTE REQUIREMENTS**

### **SENATE QUESTION RULE**

### **VOTE**

<b>5.02</b>	Quorum .....	2/3 Membership (21)
<b>5.11</b>	Special Order.....	2/3 Present
<b>5.14 (c)</b>	Suspend Intent Calendar Rule .....	4/5 Present
<b>6.10</b>	Reconsider.....	Majority Present
<b>10.02</b>	Final Passage, Constitutional Amendment.....	2/3 Membership (21)
<b>6.20</b>	Vetoed House Bill .....	2/3 Membership (21)
<b>6.20</b>	Vetoed Senate Bill.....	2/3 Present
<b>7.19</b>	Adopt Amendment at Third Reading .....	2/3 Present
<b>5.13</b>	Postpone or Change Order of Business .....	2/3 Present
<b>22.01</b>	Rescind or Amend Senate Rule.....	Majority Membership (16)
<b>22.01</b>	Suspend Senate Rule unless otherwise specified .....	2/3 Present
<b>16.06 (3)</b>	Confirm Gubernatorial Appointments.....	2/3 Present
<b>7.18</b>	Suspend Three Day Rule.....	4/5 Present
<b>15.02</b>	Hold Executive Session.....	Majority Membership (16)
<b>6.09</b>	Previous Question .....	5 Seconds & Majority Present
<b>7.13</b>	Consider Bill during first 60 days .....	4/5 Membership (25)
<b>7.07 (b)</b>	Introduce Bill after first 60 days .....	4/5 Membership (25)
<b>6.08</b>	Re-referral .....	2/3 Present
<b>6.08</b>	Commit.....	Majority Membership (16)
<b>11.17</b>	File Minority Report .....	2/3 Present

### **Members Present &**

<b>Voting</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Majority</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>2/3rds</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>4/5th</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>

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## **NOTICE OF INTENT**

**Tuesday  
March 10, 2009**

**SB 175**

**Shapiro**

Relating to limitations on the automatic admission of undergraduate students to general academic teaching institutions.

*Committee report printed and distributed 01:48 PM, 03/09/09*

**SB 202 (CS) (LC)**

**Shapleigh/ et al.**

Relating to provisional licensing of physicians to practice in underserved areas.

*Committee report printed and distributed 01:43 PM, 03/02/09*

(CS) COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE

(LC) RECOMMENDED FOR LOCAL CALENDAR

## **SENATE COMMITTEE HEARINGS**

**Tuesday  
March 10, 2009**

<b>Finance</b>	<b>8:00 AM</b>	<b>E1.036</b>
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To consider the following pending business:

**SB 1**                      **Ogden**  
General Appropriations Bill.

The Committee intends to take up and consider recommendations from the workgroups on the agencies for the following Article, and any other pending business:

Article V (Public Safety and Criminal Justice)

### **Committee of the Whole**

<b>Senate</b>	<b>9:00 AM **</b>	<b>Senate Chamber</b>
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\*\* 9:00 a.m. upon resolution of the Senate into Committee of the Whole  
Upon adoption of the appropriate motion, the Senate will resolve into the Committee of the Whole Senate to consider the following:

**SB 362**                      **Fraser/ Estes/ et al.**  
Relating to requiring a voter to present proof of identification.  
The Committee will hear invited and public testimony on SB 362.

Interested parties may appear and provide written or oral testimony by submitting a witness affirmation card. Persons wishing to submit written testimony must provide 40 copies with their witness affirmation card.

Witness affirmation cards will be available at 8:00 a.m. on the day of the hearing at the Witness Registration Desk located in front of the Senate Chamber on the 2nd Floor of the Capitol.

Witnesses and the public are invited to observe the proceedings of the Committee from the Senate Gallery on the 3rd Floor. Witnesses who have registered to testify will have their names called by the Chair at least 5 minutes before they are scheduled to appear. As names are called, witnesses should check in at the Witness Registration Desk for admission into the Senate Chamber for their testimony.

For any questions regarding the hearing, please contact Patsy Spaw (512) 463-0100.

**Wednesday  
March 11, 2009**

**Transportation &  
Homeland Security**

**7:30 AM**

**E1.016**

Please note the start time. If the Senate is in active session or Committee of the Whole after 10 P.M. Tuesday, March 10, this hearing will be canceled. Otherwise, the Committee will meet to take up the following bills for consideration as new business:

**SB 129**

**Ellis**

Relating to the maximum speed limit for a neighborhood electric vehicle being operated on a street or highway.

**SB 161**

**Ellis**

Relating to specialty license plates supporting the Safe Routes to School Program.

**SB 375**

**Carona**

Relating to the release of motor vehicle accident report information.

**SB 488**

**Ellis/ Carona/ et al.**

Relating to the operation of a motor vehicle in the vicinity of a vulnerable road user; providing penalties.

**SB 617**

**Shapleigh**

Relating to requiring a retail seller of motor vehicle tires to render certain tires unusable; providing a civil penalty.

**SB 626**

**Carona**

Relating to the creation, organization, governance, duties, and functions of the Texas Department of Vehicles; providing a penalty.

**SB 652**

**Zaffirini**

Relating to the maintenance of emergency contact and medical information databases by the Texas Department of Public Safety.

Those wishing to give public testimony should limit oral remarks to 2 minutes. If submitting written testimony, please submit 15 copies, with your name on each copy, to the Committee Staff prior to the hearing.

At the Chairman's discretion, the Committee may also consider any pending business.

**Finance**

**8:00 AM**

**E1.036**

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To consider the following pending business:

**SB 1**

**Ogden**

General Appropriations Bill.

The Committee will take up and consider any pending items.

<b>Higher Education</b>	<b>8:00 AM</b>	<b>E1.012</b>
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Regrettably, the Senate Higher Education Committee cannot meet due to the meeting of the Committee of the Whole to address Voter Identification legislation.

<b>Intergovernmental Relations</b>	<b>9:30 AM</b>	<b>E1.028</b>
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**SB 361**                                      **Patrick, Dan/ et al.**  
 Relating to the requirement that water and sewer service providers ensure operations during an extended power outage.

**SB 690**                                      **Wentworth**  
 Relating to the requirements for a petition proposing an amendment to the charter of a home-rule municipality.

**SB 764**                                      **Watson/ Hinojosa**  
 Relating to the right of certain municipalities to maintain local control over wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment.

<b>Subcommittee on Flooding &amp; Evacuations</b>	<b>10:30 AM</b>	<b>E1.028</b>
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Regrettably, the Subcommittee on Flooding and Evacuations cannot meet this week due to the meeting of the Committee of the Whole to address Voter Identification legislation.

	<b>1:00 PM or 30 minutes upon adjournment</b>	
<b>Nominations</b>		<b>Senate Chamber</b>

The committee will not meet today.



<b>Subcommittee on Base Realignment and Closure</b>	<b>1:30 PM</b>	<b>Betty King Cmte. Rm.</b>
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The Senate Subcommittee on Base Realignment and Closure will not meet this week due to the Committee of the Whole meeting to address voter suppression legislation.

<b>Veteran Affairs &amp; Military Installations</b>	<b>1:30 PM or upon adjournment</b>	<b>Betty King Cmte. Rm.</b>
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The Senate Committee on Veteran Affairs & Military Installations cannot meet this week due to the Committee of the Whole meeting to address Voter Identification legislation.

**Thursday  
March 12, 2009**

<b>Finance</b>	<b>8:00 AM</b>	<b>E1.036</b>
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To consider the following pending business:

**SB 1**                      **Ogden**  
General Appropriations Bill.

The Committee will take up and consider any pending items.

<b>Health &amp; Human Services</b>	<b>10:00 AM or upon adjournment of Senate</b>	<b>Senate Chamber</b>
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**Public testimony will be limited to 3 minutes.**

If submitting written testimony, please provide 20 copies with your name on each.

**SB 73** **Nelson**

Relating to the establishment of an adult stem cell research program.

**SB 87** **Nelson**

Relating to adverse licensing, listing, or registration decisions by certain health and human services agencies.

**SB 187** **Deuell**

Relating to a Medicaid buy-in program for certain children with disabilities.

**SB 277** **Nelson**

Relating to the Department of Family and Protective Services, including protective services and investigations of alleged abuse, neglect, or exploitation for certain adults who are elderly or disabled; providing a criminal penalty.

**SB 345** **Nelson**

Relating to screening health care personnel of home and community support services agencies for tuberculosis.

**SB 479** **Carona**

Relating to requiring the Department of State Health Services to implement a provider choice system.

## SB 484 Deuell

Relating to the practice of psychological associates.

**SB 492 Nelson**

Relating to the prohibition on certification of sex offenders as emergency medical services personnel.

**SB 527 Nelson**

Relating to certain mammography systems that fail certification standards.

**SB 584 Van de Putte**

Relating to notification to a patient of a mental health facility or resident of a residential care facility of the exemption of certain trusts from liability to pay for support.

**SB 703 Nelson**

Relating to the provision of a certified copy of a birth certificate for certain minors receiving services from the Department of Family and Protective Services.

**SB 705 Nelson**

Relating to the Medicaid consolidated waiver program and other Medicaid long-term care waiver programs.

The committee may take up pending business.

	<b>1:00 PM or upon</b>	
<b>Natural Resources</b>	<b>adjournment</b>	<b>E1.012</b>

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**SB 184 Watson**

Relating to "no regrets" greenhouse gas emission reduction strategies.

**SB 267 Hinojosa/ et al.**

Relating to design, construction, and renovation standards for state buildings and facilities.

**SB 380 Van de Putte**

Relating to a loan program to encourage the use of cleaner hydrogen fuel; providing for the issuance of bonds.

**SB 417 Carona**

Relating to the purchase of a retired firearm from the Parks and Wildlife Department by a game warden.

**SB 540 Estes/ et al.**

Relating to notice of an application for a permit to dispose of oil and gas waste in a disposal well.

**SB 598 Van de Putte**

Relating to a pilot revolving loan program for retrofitting public school buildings with photovoltaic solar panels and associated energy efficiency improvements.

**SB 608 Watson**

Relating to the creation of the Texas Center for Sustainable Business.

**SB 637 Hegar**

Relating to the creation of the Wharton County Drainage District.

**SB 656 Fraser**

Relating to notice of an application for a permit to dispose of oil and gas waste in a commercial disposal well; creating an offense.

**SB 663 Averitt**

Relating to the dissolution of the Tablerock Groundwater Conservation District.

**SB 715 Shapiro**

Relating to the North Texas Municipal Water District.

**SB 724 Hegar**

Relating to the qualification of supervisors of a fresh water supply district.

**SB 799**

**Williams**

Relating to the powers and duties of the Plum Creek Fresh Water Supply District No. 1; providing authority to impose a tax and issue bonds; granting the power of eminent domain.

**SB 800**

**Williams**

Relating to a Texas Commission on Environmental Quality water quality protection area pilot program applicable to portions of the San Jacinto River; providing penalties.

**REGULAR ORDER OF BUSINESS**

**SENATE BILLS  
(Calendar Order)**

**SENATE JOINT RESOLUTIONS  
(Second Reading)**

**SJR 19 Williams**

Proposing a constitutional amendment relating to appropriations for the preservation and perpetuation of certain items of historical value; allowing the legislature and state agencies to accept on behalf of the state gifts of items of historical value and contributions to purchase such items.

**SENATE BILLS  
(Second Reading)**

**SB 621 Williams**

Relating to the creation, purpose, implementation, and funding of the County Park Beautification and Improvement Program.

**SB 407 (CS) (LC) Shapiro**

Relating to the appointment of magistrates to hear truancy cases in certain counties.

**SB 279 (CS) (LC) Nelson**

Relating to a prohibition against certain court orders in a suit affecting the parent-child relationship during a parent's military deployment.

**SB 445 (CS) Wentworth**

Relating to juror questions and juror note-taking during civil trials.

**SB 446 (CS) (LC) Wentworth**

Relating to the use of certain court costs in a criminal case for municipal programs enhancing public safety and security.

**SB 481 (LC) Carona**

Relating to safety regulations for certain contract carriers.

**SB 316 (LC) Wentworth**

Relating to the establishment of railroad quiet zones outside the boundaries of certain municipalities.

**SB 334 (LC) Carona**

Relating to the repeal of the authority of the Texas Department of Transportation to regulate air carriers.

**SB 348 (LC) Carona**

Relating to the Texas Transportation Commission's authority to establish advisory committees.

**SB 376 (LC) Carona**

Relating to the powers and duties of the Texas Department of Transportation related to county traffic officers.

**SB 405 (LC) Shapiro**

Relating to compensation for the use of the public transportation system of a regional transportation authority.

**SB 434 (CS) Wentworth**

Relating to the establishment and operation of a motor-bus-only lane pilot program in certain counties.

**SB 158 Ellis**

Relating to a notification requirement if a nurse is not assigned to a public school campus.

**SB 33 (CS) Zaffirini**

Relating to school district requirements regarding parental notification and documentation in connection with disciplinary alternative education programs.

**SB 86 (LC) Nelson/ et al.**

Relating to the eligibility of certain aliens for a license to practice medicine in this state.

**SB 287 (LC) Nelson**

Relating to the use of electronic prescribing data transmission systems under the state Medicaid program.

**SB 289 (LC) Nelson**

Relating to ensuring that health information technology used in the medical assistance and child health plan programs conforms to certain standards.

**SB 292 (LC) Nelson**

Relating to the requirement that licensed physicians provide emergency contact information to the Texas Medical Board.

**SB 525 (LC) Nelson/ et al.**

Relating to certain qualified alien physicians practicing medicine in this state.

**SB 202 (CS) (LC) Shapleigh/ et al.**

Relating to provisional licensing of physicians to practice in underserved areas.

**SB 286 (CS) (LC) Nelson**

Relating to a health passport for Medicaid recipients.

**SB 288 (CS) (LC) Nelson**

Relating to the review of a Medicaid recipient's electronic medication history by a provider of Medicaid acute care services.



**SB 291 (CS) (LC) Nelson**

Relating to hepatitis B vaccination for students enrolled in certain health-related courses of study at an institution of higher education.

**SB 343 (CS) (LC) Nelson/ et al.**

Relating to the creation of an advisory committee to study the retail availability of healthy foods in certain underserved areas of this state.

**SB 395 (CS) (LC) Lucio**

Relating to creation of the Early Childhood Health and Nutrition Interagency Council.

**SB 643 (CS) Nelson/ et al.**

Relating to the protection and care of individuals with mental retardation who reside in a state developmental center or the ICF-MR component of the Rio Grande State Center.

**SB 34 (LC) Zaffirini**

Relating to the civil liability of an employer or former employer of a mental health services provider who engages in sexual exploitation of a patient or former patient.

**SB 401 (CS) Seliger**

Relating to eligibility for the small and mid-sized district adjustment under the public school finance system.

**SB 65 (LC) Zaffirini**

Relating to leave for junior college district or university system employees who are physically assaulted while on duty.

**SB 175 Shapiro**

Relating to limitations on the automatic admission of undergraduate students to general academic teaching institutions.

**SB 504 (LC) Ogden**

Relating to the use of land on the main campus of Texas A&M University in College Station.

**SB 52 (LC) Zaffirini**

Relating to the penalties for the illegal use of a parking space or area designated specifically for persons with disabilities.

**SB 293 (CS) (LC) Carona**

Relating to the pledge of certain revenue of a regional transportation authority to the payment of bonds.

**SB 328 (LC) Carona**

Relating to the civil and criminal consequences of operating a motor vehicle or a watercraft while intoxicated or under the influence of alcohol.

**SB 333 (LC) Carona**

Relating to the retention by a county or municipality of certain court costs for maintaining and supporting a certified breath alcohol testing program.

**SB 374 (CS) (LC) Carona**

Relating to the power of a county to enforce compliance with speed limits by an automated traffic control system.

**SB 521 (CS) (LC) Averitt**

Relating to the Texas Department of Transportation's memorial sign program.

**SB 581 (LC) Wentworth**

Relating to intermunicipal commuter rail districts.

**SB 589 (LC) Carona**

Relating to certain requirements for sunscreening devices that are placed on or attached to a motor vehicle; providing a penalty.

**SB 32 (LC) Zaffirini**

Relating to the detention and transportation of a person with a mental illness.

**SB 72 (CS) (LC) Nelson**

Relating to training and other human resources functions of health and human services agencies.

**SB 71 (CS) (LC) Nelson**

Relating to the limitation on paid leave for state employees at health and human services agencies pending a criminal history background check.

**SB 81 (CS) (LC) Nelson**

Relating to certain providers of subsidized child care.

**SB 188 (CS) Deuell/ Van de Putte**

Relating to disease control programs to reduce the risk of certain communicable diseases.

**SB 284 (CS) (LC) Nelson**

Relating to human body and anatomical specimen donation.

**SB 347 (CS) (LC) Nelson**

Relating to the receipt and release of immunization information by the immunization registry in connection with a disaster.

**SB 662 (LC) Lucio/ Hinojosa/ Nelson/  
Ogden/ Seliger/ et al.**

Relating to the establishment and use of a mausoleum beneath certain religious buildings.

**SB 229 (LC) West**

Relating to the procurement methods authorized for public projects by certain local governments.

**SB 234 (LC) West**

Relating to real property subject to restrictive covenants.

**SB 235 (LC) West**

Relating to prohibiting a restrictive covenant granting a right of first refusal to a property owners' association in certain circumstances.

**SB 236 (LC) West**

Relating to the regulation of solar energy devices by a property owners' association.

**SB 239 (LC) West**

Relating to notice requirements in certain enforcement actions initiated by property owners' associations.

**SB 397 (LC) Carona**

Relating to methods of payment for reimbursement of jury service expenses.

**SB 461 (LC) Gallegos**

Relating to eligibility to take the entrance examination for a beginning position in the fire department.

**SB 524 (LC) Duncan**

Relating to the grounds for removal of a member of the board of directors of the Lynn County Hospital District.

**SB 530 (LC) Patrick, Dan**

Relating to the disposition of cash in possession of a deceased pauper.

**SB 623 (LC) West/ Deuell/ et al.**

Relating to the hours worked during a week by fire fighters in certain municipalities.

**SB 497 (CS) (LC) Wentworth**

Relating to compensation paid to certain judges and justices.

**SB 683 (LC) Wentworth**

Relating to the recusal or disqualification of a statutory probate court judge and subsequent assignment of another judge.

**SB 633 (LC)**

**Seliger**

Relating to the number of counties or municipalities necessary to establish a regional drug court program.

**SB 625 (LC)**

**Wentworth**

Relating to the representation of indigent defendants in criminal cases.

**SB 517 (LC)**

**Harris**

Relating to the application of the child support guidelines in a suit affecting the parent-child relationship.

**SB 477 (LC)**

**Wentworth**

Relating to eligibility for assignment as a visiting judge.

**SB 420 (LC)**

**Carona**

Relating to the performance evaluation criteria for judges employed by a municipality.

**SB 271 (LC)**

**Harris**

Relating to the appointment of a successor guardian for certain wards adjudicated as totally incapacitated.

**SB 189**

**Shapleigh/ et al.**

Relating to the extension of consumer credit to certain members of the Texas National Guard and armed forces of the United States and their dependents; providing a penalty.

**SB 90 (CS)**

**Van de Putte/ Shapleigh/  
Uresti/ Wentworth**

Relating to adoption of the Interstate Compact on Educational Opportunity for Military Children.

**SB 44 (CS) (LC)**

**Zaffirini**

Relating to the participation of undergraduate students in funding awarded under the advanced research program.

**SB 93 (CS)**

**Van de Putte/ et al.**

Relating to the residency requirements for tuition and fee exemptions for certain military personnel and their dependents.

(CS) COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE

(LC) RECOMMENDED FOR LOCAL CALENDAR

## **SENATE FLOOR ACTION**

**Monday  
March 9, 2009**

**The Senate suspended the necessary rules to consider and finally pass:**

**SB 643 (CS) Nelson/ et al.**

Relating to the protection and care of individuals with mental retardation who reside in a state developmental center or the ICF-MR component of the Rio Grande State Center.

**10 Floor Amendments**

**The Senate adopted the following resolutions:**

**SR 383 Shapiro**

Commending the McKinney Boyd High School Honors Band.

**SR 391 Shapiro**

Recognizing the Texas Coalition for Quality Arts Education.

**HCR 46 Craddick SP: Seliger**

Honoring the Commemorative Air Force, based in Midland, for its inspiring educational programs and for its crucial efforts to preserve the military aviation history of the United States.

**Committee referral on the following:**

**SB 3 Shapiro**

Relating to public school accountability, curriculum, and promotion requirements.

**Education**

**SB 11 Carona**

Relating to the investigation, prosecution, and punishment for certain gang-related and other offenses and to the civil consequences of engaging in certain activities of a criminal street gang; providing penalties.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 851 Patrick, Dan**

Relating to the reallocation of local sales and use taxes.

**Finance**

**SB 852 Patrick, Dan**

Relating to the collection and allocation of local sales and use taxes.

**Finance**

**SB 853 Patrick, Dan**

Relating to authorizing injunctive relief during proceedings to cancel or suspend certain alcoholic beverage permits and licenses.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 854 Patrick, Dan**

Relating to the operation and regulation of massage establishments; imposing penalties.

**Criminal Justice**

**SB 855 Carona**

Relating to local options regarding transportation and mobility improvement projects in certain counties.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 856 Hinojosa**

Relating to the expiration of certain parts of the Texas Economic Development Act.

**Economic Development**



**SB 857 West**

Relating to the purchasing and contracting practices of junior college districts; providing criminal penalties.

**Higher Education**

**SB 858 Seliger**

Relating to offering the classroom portion of a driver education course through an alternative method of instruction.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 859 Seliger**

Relating to initial claims under the unemployment compensation system.

**Economic Development**

**SB 860 Hegar**

Relating to the creation of the Fort Bend-Waller Counties Municipal Utility District No. 2; providing authority to impose a tax and issue bonds; granting a limited power of eminent domain.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 861 Wentworth**

Relating to the exchange of information among certain governmental entities concerning at-risk youth.

**Jurisprudence**

**SB 862 Eltife**

Relating to practices and professions regulated by the Texas Real Estate Commission.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 863 Harris**

Relating to adoption of certain information technology.

**State Affairs**

**SB 864 Harris**

Relating to the qualifications and duties of a parenting coordinator in a suit affecting the parent-child relationship.

**Jurisprudence**

**SB 865 Harris**

Relating to child support enforcement.

**Jurisprudence**

**SB 866 Harris**

Relating to the rights and liabilities of the parties in a suit for dissolution of a marriage and certain post-dissolution proceedings.

**Jurisprudence**

**SB 867 Lucio**

Relating to summer nutrition programs provided for by school districts.

**Education**

**SB 868 Lucio**

Relating to free breakfast for certain public school students.

**Education**

**SB 869 Lucio**

Relating to free breakfast for certain public school students.

**Education**

**SB 870 Lucio**

Relating to the duties of the interagency obesity council and the Department of Agriculture relating to health, wellness, and prevention of obesity.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 871 Lucio**

Relating to health risk assessments of state employees.

**State Affairs**

**SB 872**

**Lucio**

Relating to the purchase of continued health insurance coverage by an eligible survivor of certain public servants killed in the line of duty.

**State Affairs**

**SB 873**

**Harris/ Hegar/ Williams**

Relating to a requirement that certain appraisal districts provide for electronic filing of and electronic communications regarding a protest of appraised value by the owner of a residence homestead.

**Finance**

**SB 874**

**Shapleigh**

Relating to the exemption of certain counties from the drainage charge imposed by a municipal drainage utility system.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 875**

**Shapleigh**

Relating to consideration of students' preferred class times in establishing course schedules at public institutions of higher education.

**Higher Education**

**SB 876**

**Averitt**

Relating to the performance of annual soil tests for certain concentrated animal feeding operations by the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality.

**Natural Resources**

**SB 877**

**Ellis/ et al.**

Relating to the provision of HIV and AIDS tests and to health benefit plan coverage of HIV and AIDS tests.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 878**

**Davis, Wendy**

Relating to use of the money from the Texas enterprise fund to promote renewable energy technology.

**Economic Development**

**SB 879** **Averitt/ et al.**

Relating to premium discounts for certain participants in the Texas Health Insurance Risk Pool and to related tax credits for health benefit plan issuers.

**State Affairs**

**SB 880** **Hegar**

Relating to the creation of the Fort Bend County Municipal Utility District No. 200; providing authority to impose a tax and issue bonds; granting a limited power of eminent domain.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 881** **Eltife**

Relating to a specialty insurance agent license for certain vendors of portable electronic devices.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 882** **Carona**

Relating to the powers and duties of a regional tollway authority, including the establishment of an administrative adjudication hearing procedure; creating an offense.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 883** **Carona**

Relating to the use of the state highway fund to participate in the costs associated with a toll facility of a public or private entity.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 884** **Harris**

Relating to compensation of certain persons by a domestic insurance company.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 885** **Harris**

Relating to a franchise tax credit for certain research and development activities.

**Economic Development**

**SB 886 Nelson**

Relating to the waiver of sovereign immunity for claims based on retaliation against a nurse for engaging in protected patient advocacy activities.

**State Affairs**

**SB 887 Nelson**

Relating to the licensing and regulation of dentists, dental hygienists, dental assistants, and dental laboratories; providing penalties.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 888 Nelson**

Relating to establishing a pill splitting program to reduce health plan costs for certain public employees.

**State Affairs**

**SB 889 Nelson**

Relating to a deduction under the franchise tax for physicians who administer vaccines.

**Finance**

**SB 890 Nelson**

Relating to physical activity requirements for students in public schools.

**Education**

**SB 891 Nelson**

Relating to the public school physical education curriculum.

**Education**

**SB 892 Nelson**

Relating to inclusion in a public school campus improvement plan of an evaluation of the campus coordinated health program.

**Education**

**SB 893 Nelson**

Relating to the authority of a county to regulate and inspect day-care centers and group day-care homes; providing a criminal penalty.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 894 Nelson/ et al.**

Relating to municipal investment of public funds received from the management and development of mineral rights.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 895 Nelson**

Relating to the Cancer Prevention and Research Institute of Texas.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 896 Shapleigh**

Relating to the repeal of the driver responsibility program.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 897 Shapleigh**

Relating to certain reporting requirements in connection with the transportation of hazardous materials by a railroad company.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 898 Shapleigh**

Relating to the purposes and designation of a municipal transportation reinvestment zone.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 899 Deuell**

Relating to hospital district participation in state travel service contracts.

**Government Organization**

**SB 900 Deuell/ et al.**

Relating to the collection and use of certain information by health benefit plan issuers; providing administrative penalties.

**State Affairs**

**SB 901** **Deuell/ et al.**  
Relating to regulation of health benefit plans.  
**State Affairs**

**SB 902** **Davis, Wendy**  
Relating to restrictions on the release into the air of natural gas and associated vapors from a gas well.  
**Natural Resources**

**SB 903** **Hegar**  
Relating to the designation of a person to act as the agent of a property owner in a property tax matter.  
**Finance**

**SB 904** **Williams**  
Relating to prescriptions issued for certain controlled substances.  
**Health & Human Services**

**SB 905** **Davis, Wendy**  
Relating to the date on which eligibility for benefits begins under certain programs for governmental employees and retirees.  
**State Affairs**

**SB 906** **Williams**  
Relating to dates on which certain independent school districts may hold an election of trustees.  
**Education**

**SB 907** **Williams**  
Relating to the purchase of a United States flag or Texas flag by a governmental entity.  
**Administration**

**SB 908**

**Williams**

Relating to the crediting and charging of investment gains and losses on the assets held in trust by the Texas Municipal Retirement System and providing a guaranteed minimum credit to employee accounts.

**State Affairs**

**SB 909**

**Williams**

Relating to designating the first week of October as Monarch Butterfly Week.

**Administration**

**SB 910**

**Lucio**

Relating to free breakfast for certain public school students.

**Education**

**SB 911**

**Williams**

Relating to the licensing and regulation of pain management clinics.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 912**

**Williams**

Relating to the diversion of a controlled substance by certain persons who have access to the substance by virtue of the person's profession or employment; providing penalties.

**Criminal Justice**

**SB 913**

**Williams**

Relating to the authority of the Lower Neches Valley Authority to acquire, own, operate, maintain, and improve the Devers Canal System, its water rights, and associated property.

**Natural Resources**

**SB 914**

**Williams**

Relating to the powers and duties of the Liberty Lakes Fresh Water Supply District No. 1; providing authority to impose a tax and issue bonds; granting the power of eminent domain.

**Natural Resources**



**SB 915** **Ellis/ Duncan**

Relating to a qualified privilege of a journalist not to testify.

**Jurisprudence**

**SB 916** **Harris**

Relating to exempting certain judicial officers from certain requirements for obtaining or renewing a concealed handgun license and to the authority of certain judicial officers to carry certain weapons.

**Criminal Justice**

**SB 917** **Harris**

Relating to the definition of charitable trust for purposes of court jurisdiction.

**Jurisprudence**

**SB 918** **Harris**

Relating to attorney general participation in proceedings involving charitable trusts.

**Jurisprudence**

**SB 919** **Harris**

Relating to an administrative fee for defendants required by a court to perform community service in lieu of serving a term of confinement in county jail.

**Criminal Justice**

**SB 920** **Harris**

Relating to the right to an expunction of records and files relating to a person's arrest.

**Criminal Justice**

**SB 921** **Fraser**

Relating to access by the members of electric cooperatives to meetings of the boards of directors and certain information of the electric cooperatives.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 922**

**Harris**

Relating to the powers and duties of certain magistrates.

**Jurisprudence**

**SB 923**

**Harris**

Relating to notice of proposed increases in fees charged by the Parks and Wildlife Department for certain permits.

**Natural Resources**

**SB 924**

**Huffman**

Relating to the issuance of Save Our Beaches specialty license plates.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 925**

**Huffman**

Relating to the creation of a court record preservation fund; imposing a fee.

**Criminal Justice**

**SB 926**

**Huffman**

Relating to the imposition of a civil penalty against the owner of an authorized emergency vehicle for a violation recorded by a photographic traffic signal enforcement system.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 927**

**Huffman**

Relating to tampering with a direct recording electronic voting machine.

**State Affairs**

**SB 928**

**Patrick, Dan/ Carona/  
Eltime/ Nelson/ Nichols/  
et al.**

Relating to the limitation on the rate of growth of appropriations.

**Finance**

**SB 929**

**Huffman**

Relating to the powers and duties of the Sienna Plantation Municipal Utility District No. 4; providing authority to impose a tax and issue bonds.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 930**

**Huffman**

Relating to the powers and duties of the Sienna Plantation Municipal Utility District No. 5; providing authority to impose a tax and issue bonds.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 931**

**Huffman**

Relating to the powers and duties of the Sienna Plantation Municipal Utility District No. 6; providing authority to impose a tax and issue bonds.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 932**

**Huffman**

Relating to the powers and duties of the Sienna Plantation Municipal Utility District No. 7; providing authority to impose a tax and issue bonds.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 933**

**Ellis**

Relating to compensation to persons wrongfully imprisoned.

**State Affairs**

**SB 934**

**Lucio**

Relating to funding the housing trust fund.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 935**

**Seliger**

Relating to authorizing a judge of a municipal court to conduct a marriage ceremony.

**Jurisprudence**

**SB 936**

**Carona**

Relating to the appointment of a communications coordination group.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 937 Carona**

Relating to the prosecution of and punishment for certain criminal offenses involving a combination or a criminal street gang.

**Criminal Justice**

**SB 938 Carona**

Relating to a central database containing information about certain violent offenders who are members of a criminal street gang.

**Criminal Justice**

**SB 939 Watson**

Relating to the capability of the Public Education Information Management System (PEIMS) to provide information regarding public school students placed in foster care.

**Education**

**SB 940 Wentworth**

Relating to the regulation of the public practice of geoscience.

**Natural Resources**

**SB 941 Wentworth**

Relating to contracts by governmental entities for professional services relating to geoscience.

**Natural Resources**

**SB 942 Wentworth**

Relating to local option methods for financing transportation projects and services.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 943 Zaffirini**

Relating to a pilot project to establish a comprehensive single point of entry for long-term services and supports provided to the aged and physically disabled individuals.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 944** **Zaffirini/ et al.**

Relating to a grant program to provide children at risk of hunger or obesity with increased access to nutritious foods.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 945** **Zaffirini**

Relating to unemployment compensation benefits.

**Economic Development**

**SB 946** **Deuell**

Relating to the Medicaid Drug Utilization Review Program and prescription drug use under the Medicaid program.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 947** **Duncan**

Relating to the exemption from ad valorem taxation of certain tangible personal property stored temporarily at a location in this state.

**Finance**

**SB 948** **Estes**

Relating to the definition of an agricultural business for the purposes of the Texas Agricultural Finance Authority.

**Agriculture & Rural Affairs**

**SB 949** **Estes**

Relating to the ad valorem tax situs of certain portable drilling rigs and associated equipment.

**Finance**

**SB 950** **West**

Relating to a fee imposed on real estate transactions to fund the housing trust fund.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 951 Shapleigh**

Relating to the appraisal for ad valorem tax purposes of historic property.

**Finance**

**SB 952 Shapleigh**

Relating to erecting an off-premise sign adjacent to and visible from certain roads that follow the route of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

**International Relations & Trade**

**SB 953 Shapleigh**

Relating to contracting issues of state agencies.

**Finance**

**SB 954 Shapiro**

Relating to uniform financial aid award notification for students and prospective students of public institutions of higher education.

**Higher Education**

**SB 955 Shapiro**

Relating to the state virtual school network.

**Education**

**SB 957 Watson**

Relating to the ability of a county, public hospital, or hospital district to purchase or arrange for the purchase of certain health coverage or benefits for eligible residents.

**State Affairs**

**SB 958 Hegar**

Relating to an exemption from the sales and use tax for machinery and equipment used in an agricultural aircraft operation.

**Finance**

**SB 959 Duncan**

Relating to the authority of certain counties to impose a hotel occupancy tax for the maintenance and operation of a coliseum in the county.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 960 Ellis/ Lucio**

Relating to eligibility of certain job trainees for extended unemployment compensation benefits.

**Economic Development**

**SB 961 Ellis/ et al.**

Relating to the sale of certain annuities.

**State Affairs**

**SB 962 Ellis**

Relating to a business's electronic transmission of the sensitive personal information of its customers.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 963 Ellis**

Relating to rates for long-term care insurance premiums.

**State Affairs**

**SB 964 Ellis**

Relating to requirements for insurers and insurance agents that sell Medicare-related products.

**State Affairs**

**SB 965 Ellis/ et al.**

Relating to certain education requirements for insurance agents who sell annuities.

**State Affairs**

**SB 966 Ellis**

Relating to the repeal of state sales tax and franchise tax refunds for certain ad valorem tax payers.

**Finance**

**SB 967 Hegar**

Relating to the disclosure by the developer of the subdivision of planned highway projects that will go through or be adjacent to a subdivision.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 968 West**

Relating to interactive water features and fountains.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 969 Seliger**

Relating to a length exemption for a vehicle or combination of vehicles used to transport a combine used in farm custom harvesting operations.

**Agriculture & Rural Affairs**

**SB 970 Seliger**

Relating to the qualifications required of the executive director of the Texas Department of Transportation.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 971 Seliger**

Relating to an interlocal contract for a relief highway route around certain municipalities.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 972 Averitt**

Relating to small and large employer health group cooperatives.

**State Affairs**



**SB 973 Duncan**

Relating to creating a recognition day to celebrate the history and heritage of Texas bison.

**Government Organization**

**SB 974 Carona**

Relating to records of certain frivolous complaints maintained by the Texas Board of Professional Land Surveying.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 975 Ellis**

Relating to a loan program to encourage the use of renewable energy technology and the making of energy efficiency improvements; providing for the issuance of bonds.

**Finance**

**SB 976 Ellis**

Relating to distribution of sexual barrier protection devices to inmates and state jail defendants confined in facilities operated by or under contract with the Texas Department of Criminal Justice.

**Criminal Justice**

**SB 977 Ellis**

Relating to the reporting of information regarding debt incurred for necessary medical treatment.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 978 West**

Relating to the creation and financing of public improvement districts.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 979 Lucio**

Relating to foreclosure sales of residential real property; providing a penalty.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 980**

**Lucio**

Relating to reporting of certain information regarding foreclosure sales of residential real property.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 981**

**Van de Putte**

Relating to a requirement that school districts notify employees regarding entitlement to leave time in circumstances involving assault.

**Education**

**SB 982**

**Van de Putte/ Eltife/  
West/ et al.**

Relating to public school finance.

**Education**

**SB 983**

**Davis, Wendy**

Relating to providing certain documents and training to children in the conservatorship of the state.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 984**

**Davis, Wendy**

Relating to the jurisdiction of a court to conduct placement review hearings for a child in the managing conservatorship of the state after the child's 18th birthday.

**Health & Human Services**

**SB 985**

**Davis, Wendy**

Relating to the lodging expenses of certain state emergency services personnel.

**Transportation & Homeland Security**

**SB 986**

**Davis, Wendy**

Relating to unlawful employment practices regarding discrimination in payment of compensation.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 987 Shapiro**

Relating to the age at which transition planning begins for a public school student receiving special education services.

**Education**

**SB 988 Ellis**

Relating to the development of a climate adaptation plan by certain entities.

**Natural Resources**

**SB 989 Lucio**

Relating to the municipal hotel occupancy tax imposed in certain municipalities.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 990 Lucio/ Zaffirini**

Relating to the establishment of the rural housing land assemblage program.

**International Relations & Trade**

**SB 991 Lucio**

Relating to the allocation of housing tax credits to developments in rural areas under the low income housing tax credit program.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 992 Duncan**

Relating to the jurisdiction and administration of, and procedures relating to, certain courts in this state, including procedures for appeals.

**Jurisprudence**

**SB 993 Duncan**

Relating to ranking of physicians by health benefit plans.

**State Affairs**

**SB 994**

**Hegar**

Relating to the creation of the Fort Bend County Municipal Utility District No. 192; providing authority to impose a tax and issue bonds; granting a limited power of eminent domain.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

**SB 995**

**Averitt**

Relating to imposition of the motor vehicle sales tax on motor vehicles transferred as the result of a gift.

**Finance**

**SB 996**

**Averitt**

Relating to imposition of the motor vehicle sales tax on leased motor vehicles.

**Finance**

**SB 997**

**Duncan**

Relating to the administration of and exemptions from the gas production tax.

**Finance**

**SB 998**

**Gallegos**

Relating to the seizure of the circuit board of a gambling device or equipment, altered gambling equipment, or gambling paraphernalia.

**Criminal Justice**

**SB 999**

**Gallegos**

Relating to the regulation of certain licensing agents; providing penalties.

**Business & Commerce**

**SB 1000**

**Gallegos**

Relating to the practice of nursing; providing civil penalties.

**Health & Human Services**

(CS) COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE

**SENATE COMMITTEES 81ST LEGISLATURE (Regular)**

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**INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS** - West, Chair; Nichols, Vice-Chair; Gallegos, Patrick, Wentworth

**SUBCOMMITTEE ON FLOODING & EVACUATIONS** - Gallegos, Chair; Nichols, Patrick

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS & TRADE** - Lucio, Chair; Seliger, Vice-Chair; Davis, Estes, Fraser, Gallegos, Williams

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**TRANSPORTATION & HOMELAND SECURITY** - Carona, Chair; Watson, Vice-Chair; Davis, Ellis, Huffman, Nichols, Shapiro, Shapleigh, Wentworth

**VETERAN AFFAIRS & MILITARY INSTALLATIONS** - Van de Putte, Chair; Shapleigh, Vice-Chair; Davis, Estes, Huffman

**SUBCOMMITTEE ON BASE REALIGNMENT & CLOSURE** - Shapleigh, Chair; Estes, Huffman

## **NOTICE OF ASSISTANCE AT PUBLIC MEETINGS**

Persons with disabilities who plan to attend public meetings in the Senate and who may need auxiliary aids or services such as interpreters for persons who are deaf or hearing impaired, readers, large print or Braille, are requested to contact Scott Caffey, Senate Committee Coordinator, at 463-0070 or TDD 475-3758 seventy-two (72) hours prior to the meeting so that appropriate arrangements can be made.

*The Texas Senate does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, age or disability in employment or the provision of services.*

## SENATE COMMITTEE SCHEDULE

TIME	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY
8:00 AM			<b>**Transportation &amp; Homeland Security</b> <i>E1.016</i> <b>Higher Education</b> <i>E1.012</i>	<b>**State Affairs</b> <i>Senate Chamber</i>
8:30 AM	<b>***Finance</b> <i>E1.036</i>	<b>**Education</b> <i>E1.028</i>		<b>**Education</b> <i>E1.028</i>
9:00 AM		<b>**Health &amp; Human Services</b> <i>Senate Chamber</i> <b>**Business &amp; Commerce</b> <i>Betty King Cmte. Rm.</i>		<b>**Health &amp; Human Services</b> <i>E1.016</i> <b>**Business &amp; Commerce</b> <i>Betty King Cmte. Rm.</i>
9:30 AM			<b>**Intergovernmental Relations</b> <i>E1.028</i> <b>****Subcommittee on Flooding &amp; Evacuations</b>	
10:00 AM	<b>**State Affairs</b> <i>Senate Chamber</i>			
11:00 AM or upon adj.				<b>**Finance</b> <i>E1.036</i>
1:00 PM or upon adj.		<b>Natural Resources</b> <i>E1.012</i>	<b>Nominations</b> <i>Senate Chamber</i>	<b>Natural Resources</b> <i>E1.012</i>
1:30 PM or upon adj.	<b>International Relations and Trade</b> <i>E1.016</i> <b>Government Organization</b> <i>Betty King Cmte. Rm</i> <b>Economic Development</b> <i>E1.028</i>	<b>Criminal Justice</b> <i>E1.016</i>	<b>Jurisprudence</b> <i>E1.012</i> <b>Veteran Affairs and Military Installations</b> <i>Betty King Cmte. Rm.</i> <b>****Subcommittee on Base Realignment and Closure</b> <i>Betty King Cmte. Rm.</i>	
3:00 PM or upon adj.	<b>Agriculture &amp; Rural Affairs</b> <i>E1.012</i>			

\* Administration will meet at the discretion of the Chair.

\*\* These committees will continue meeting in the afternoon as necessary.

\*\*\* Regular bill hearing only. Thursday will serve as a back up for bill hearings, if necessary.

\*\*\*\* Subcommittee on Base Realignment and Closure will meet after the Veteran Affairs and Military Installation Committee.

\*\*\*\*\* Subcommittee on Flooding and Evacuations will meet after the Intergovernmental Relations Committee.

TAG FORM

RECEIVED  
SECRETARY OF SENATE

9 MAR 10 AM 31

3-10-09

Austin, Texas

Date

To the Chairman of the Committee on the whole:

Pursuant to Senate Rule 11.20, I hereby request 48 hours advance notice in writing of the time and place of the hearing on S.B. No. 362.

*Robert M. Nichols* *Wendy A. Davis* *W. H. E. Shepley*  
*9-9-10* *Therrell White*  
*Therrell White* *Zaffirini*  
Give the original of this form to Calendar Clerk for placement on the bill, give one copy to the Secretary of the Senate's office, and one copy to the Chairman of the committee to which the bill was referred.  
*Therrell White* *Ex 54*



**TAG FORM**

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SECRETARY OF SENATE

9 MAR 10 AIO 31

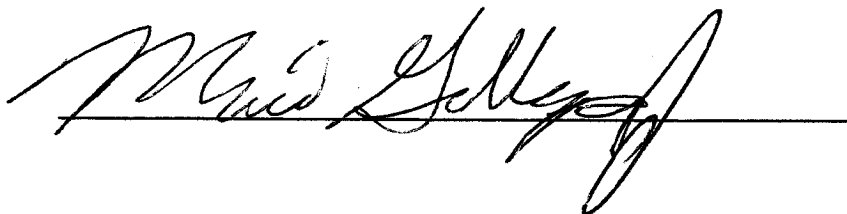
03-10-09

Austin, Texas

Date

To the Chairman of the Committee on State Affairs - Committee of the whole

Pursuant to Senate Rule 11.19, I hereby request 48 hours advance notice in writing of the time and place of the hearing on S. B. No. 362



Give the original of this form to Calendar Clerk for placement on the bill, give one copy to the Secretary of the Senate's office, and one copy to the Chairman of the committee to which the bill was referred.

Ex 5B

Gallegos Motion

## COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE SENATE



SENATE  
EIGHTY-FIRST LEGISLATURE  
REGULAR SESSION

DAVID DEWHURST  
Lieutenant Governor

PATSY SPAW  
Secretary

ROLL CALL NO. 2

NO. \_\_\_\_\_

QUESTION: \_\_\_\_\_

Appeal Ruling  
of Chair on  
West's POO

DATE 3-10 2009

DATE	Yeas	Nays	Present	Absent
AVERITT	✓			
CARONA	✓			
DAVIS		✓		
DEUELL	✓			
DUNCAN			✓	
ELLIS		✓		
ELTIFE	✓			
ESTES	✓			
FRASER	✓			
GALLEGOS		✓		
HARRIS	✓			
HEGAR	✓			
HINOJOSA		✓		
HUFFMAN	✓			
JACKSON	✓			
LUCIO		✓		
NELSON	✓			
NICHOLS	✓			
OGDEN	✓			
PATRICK	✓			
SELIGER	✓			
SHAPIRO	✓	✓		
SHAPLEIGH		✓		
URESTI		✓		
VAN DE PUTTE		✓		
WATSON		✓		
WENTWORTH	✓			
WEST		✓		
WHITMIRE		✓		
WILLIAMS	✓			
ZAFFIRINI		✓		
MR. PRESIDENT	✓			
TOTAL	19	12	1	

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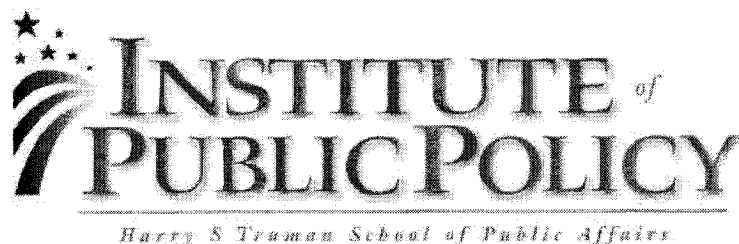
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# The Effects of Photographic Identification on Voter Turnout in Indiana: A County-Level Analysis

Jeffrey Milyo

Report 10–2007  
Revised December 2007

*A publication from:  
Institute of Public Policy  
University of Missouri  
137 Middlebush Hall  
Columbia, MO 65211*



## Abstract:

I examine the change in voter turnout across Indiana counties before and after the implementation of photo ID requirements. Overall, statewide turnout increased by about two percentage points after photo ID; further, there is no consistent evidence that counties that have higher percentages of minority, poor, elderly or less-educated population suffer any reduction in voter turnout relative to other counties. In fact, the estimated effect of photo ID on turnout is positive for counties with a greater percentage of minorities or families in poverty. The only consistent and frequently statistically significant impact of photo ID in Indiana is to increase voter turnout in counties with a greater percentage of Democrats relative to other counties. These findings run counter to some recent and prominent concerns that have been raised about voter identification reforms; however, these results are consistent with both existing theory on voter behavior and the most recent and reliable empirical evidence on the effects of voter identification requirements on turnout.



# The Effects of Photographic Identification on Voter Turnout in Indiana: A County-Level Analysis

Jeffrey Milyo

## 1. Introduction

This study evaluates the effects of photographic voter identification requirements implemented in Indiana prior to the 2006 general election. Previous studies have examined the effects of voter identification laws more generally, but none of these separately analyzes the effects of so-called “mandatory photo ID” (hereafter simply, “photo ID”) on turnout in Indiana.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the existing scholarly literature on voter identification does strongly suggest that photo ID requirements are likely to have only a negligible impact on overall voter turnout; further, previous studies indicate that photo ID is unlikely to reduce the relative participation of minorities (e.g., Alvarez et al. 2007 and Mycoff et al. 2007). Given that these lessons from social science research run counter to the conventional wisdom, at least that espoused in some quarters,<sup>2</sup> I first review the most recent and relevant literature on the effects of voter identification on turnout, then present the findings from my empirical analysis of turnout in Indiana.

The change in voter turnout from the 2002 to 2006 general elections provides a nearly ideal natural experiment for estimating the effects of photo ID on voter turnout across the 92 counties in Indiana. Both years were midterm election years and in neither year was there a major contested statewide race (i.e., for governor or U.S. Senate); however, 2006 was the first general election year in which Indiana’s photo ID law was actually implemented. I exploit this natural experiment to identify the effects of photo ID on turnout in counties with a greater percentage of minority, poor, elderly, or less educated populations.

I examine a variety of models of voter turnout and control for the influence of several other factors that may influence turnout. Overall, voter turnout

in Indiana increased about two percentage points from 2002 to 2006; however, in counties with greater percentages of minority or poor voters, turnout increased by even more, although this increase is not statistically significant. For counties with greater percentages of elderly or less educated voters, results are more mixed, but not consistently significant or negative. The only consistent and frequently significant effect of voter ID that I find is a positive effect on turnout in counties with a greater percentage of Democrat-leaning voters.

## 2. Voter ID and Turnout: Lessons from the Social Science Literature

The public debate over photo identification requirements for voters has been marked by oft-repeated concerns about the possible dramatic and detrimental effects of state voter identification requirements on voter turnout. The political rhetoric has become so superheated that recent attempts to reform voter identification laws have been met with explicit accusations of racism on the part of reformers, dire warnings of a coming “disenfranchisement,” and assertions that such reforms, though popular across party lines, are a “thinly veiled” attempt to prevent Democrats from voting.

In contrast, political theory suggests that the effects of voter identification laws on voter turnout are ambiguous. Such reforms increase the effort required to vote for some persons without proper identification (at least one time, anyway). Of course, some of these persons may be eligible voters and others will be ineligible voters. However, voter identification reforms may also instill greater confidence in the electoral process among eligible voters, making them more willing to participate in elections. Consequently, the actual impact of voter identification on turnout is an



empirical question; and even if turnout decreases with voter identification laws, it is by no means apparent that it is eligible voters that are being affected.

Until very recently, there were no systematic statistical studies of the effects of photo ID requirements for voting, although it has long been understood that many other countries both require such identification and experience higher rates of turnout than in the U.S. Studies of voter turnout across countries have instead focused on voter registration, the frequency of elections, non-compulsory voting, and single-member districts (as opposed to proportional representation) as reasons that turnout in the U.S. is low relative to other developed democracies (Powell 1986 and Blaise 2006). The fact that such cross country studies do not even entertain the possibility that photo ID requirements reduce turnout is itself informative about the long-standing opinion of the political science profession regarding the relative unimportance of such laws for turnout.

In contrast, numerous studies analyze the effects of voting institutions other than voter identification on turnout. In general, these studies find at best very modest effects of post-registration laws such as time off work for voting, opening polls early or keeping polls open late, mailing sample ballots, etc. (Primo, et al. 2007). This is because voter registration is a relatively high hurdle compared to these post-registration requirements; adding or removing some marginal costs of voting beyond registration has virtually no observable effect on turnout. Applying these lessons to voter identification, it is highly unlikely that anyone sufficiently motivated to register to vote, inform themselves about the current election issues, and transport themselves to a polling place will then be deterred by the incremental requirement of presenting proper identification at the polls.

In fact, there is an even more fundamental reason to expect that the impact voter identification requirements on turnout are likely to be negligible. This is because very few eligible voters lack official identification and presumably even fewer (if any) lack the capacity to produce sufficient identification should they have a need and inclination to do so.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the ability to cast a provisional ballot reduces further the potential for a legitimate voter to be disenfranchised, even when that person lacks proper identification.

On this point, Ansolabehere (2007) notes that in a recent national survey with 36,500 respondents, only 23 persons self-reported that they were not permitted to cast a regular ballot at the polls in 2006 because of identification problems. Further, it is not clear how many of these 23 persons cast a provisional ballot, although it appears that most did;<sup>4</sup> nor is it ascertainable from the survey whether any of these persons were actually eligible to vote, or whether they were honestly reporting problems at the polls.<sup>5</sup> It is nonetheless apparent that recent claims of a coming “disenfranchisement” are nothing more than irresponsible and ignorant exaggerations (e.g., Schulz 2007).

On the other hand, the widespread popularity of voter identification requirements suggests that the general public is indeed concerned about vote dilution from ineligible votes.<sup>6</sup> Lott (2006) has argued that confidence in the fairness of elections translates directly into higher voter turnout; such an effect, if it existed, might also reasonably be expected to be most pronounced for groups that tend to have less trust in the efficacy American democracy (e.g., racial and ethnic minorities, the poor and the less educated).

In fact, scholars of American politics generally agree that voter turnout is determined largely by idiosyncratic factors, such as an individual’s intrinsic value of voting (i.e., does the individual feel a duty to vote) as opposed to political institutions (Matsusaka and Palda 1999; Mycoff et al., 2007).<sup>7</sup> For this reason, factors that influence trust and confidence in the integrity of the electoral process are generally thought to be important determinants of an individual’s decision to vote (Putnam 2000).<sup>8</sup> For all these reasons, it is theoretically plausible that photo identification requirements actually increase voter turnout. Consequently, there exists a long-standing political science literature that does not support recent assertions that photo ID requirements have dramatic and detrimental effects on turnout.

#### *Recent empirical studies of state voter identification laws*

In the wake of recent legislation implementing voter identification reforms in the states, a flurry of new empirical studies have appeared that more directly address the question of how state voter identification laws impact voter turnout. Unfortunately, the two





studies that have received the most coverage in the press (Eagleton 2006 and Vercellotti and Anderson 2006; hereafter, the “Rutgers studies”) are fatally flawed on several counts.<sup>9</sup> For example, several authors note that these studies examine only a single cross-section of turnout data from 2004, so cannot properly estimate the treatment effect of state voter identification laws; nor can these studies properly estimate the effects of mandatory photo ID requirements (Alvarez, et al 2007, Mycoff, et al 2007 and Muhlhausen and Sikich 2007). Further, the Rutgers studies miscode several state identification laws (Mycoff, et al. 2007 and Muhlhausen and Sikich 2007). Finally, the findings reported in the Rutgers studies are not robust to reasonable changes in their statistical model (Alvarez, et al. 2007 and Muhlhausen and Sikich 2007).

The flawed Rutgers studies are also the only systematic studies of voter identification for which the authors conclude that ID laws have strong or consistently negative consequences for voter turnout overall, and especially for minorities. However, even ignoring the methodological problems with the Rutgers studies, the authors do an additional disservice to the public debate by mischaracterizing their own findings. For example, taken at face value, the results presented in the Rutgers studies imply that the most strict forms of voter identification laws examined in their data (voluntary photo ID) are associated with higher voter turnout among Black, Hispanic and Asian minorities than are the next most strict category of identification laws that they examine (non-photo ID). Further, the Rutgers studies also find that voluntary photo ID requirements yield no difference in overall turnout compared to non-photo ID requirements. The authors of the Rutgers studies fail to note any of these findings; this is a serious error that leads them to make conclusions that are not supported by their own evidence.

In contrast to the Rutgers studies, more recent studies stand out for both their methodological rigor and the fact that they examine voter turnout through the 2006 general elections (Alvarez, et al. 2007 and Mycoff, et al 2007). However, both of these studies are work in progress, so results must be interpreted with care.

Mycoff et al. (2007) examine the effects of voter identification laws on state level voter turnout, as well as individual-level self-reported voter

turnout from the National Election Studies (a large national survey that is conducted each election year). The authors examine turnout from 2000 to 2006 using a random-effects model; they find that voter ID laws are not significantly related to turnout in either the aggregate state data or the individual level data. The individual-level analysis in Mycoff et al. is a particularly valuable innovation, since it allows the researchers to more confidently discuss the impacts of voter identification on minorities, the poor, the elderly, etc. However, the original analysis in Mycoff et al. does not examine these differential effects, nor do the authors separately investigate the effects of photo ID apart from other voter identification requirements.

More recently, however, Mycoff et al. have analyzed the effects of mandatory photo ID on individual level turnout after controlling for state fixed effects. In this most recent analysis, Mycoff et al. cannot reject the null hypothesis that the within state effects of photo ID on overall turnout are zero; likewise, the null of zero effect cannot be rejected for turnout across race, ethnicity, income or age categories.<sup>10</sup> Overall, Mycoff et al. (2007) find that idiosyncratic factors, such as an individual’s interest in politics, are far more important determinants of turnout than are institutional factors like voter identification.

The most recently available study of the effects of voter identification on voter turnout is by Alvarez, et al. (2007); these authors also examine the effects of voter identification on both state-level turnout and individual level turnout (from the Current Population Survey). Alvarez et al. control for state fixed effects in their analysis, but they fail to control for the presence and competitiveness of statewide races in the different states and years in their study. This unfortunate oversight should be corrected in future iterations of the study, but for now this shortcoming undermines the usefulness of the authors’ findings. Ignoring this methodological problem, Alvarez et al. (2007) report that voter ID laws are associated with higher (albeit not significant) voter turnout in the analysis of state-level turnout from 2000-2006. The individual-level analysis suggests that voter identification requirements have a modest negative impact on overall turnout, no differential impacts by race or ethnicity and a slightly more negative impact on elderly or poor voters.



The results reported in Alvarez et al. (2007) also suggest that there is no significant change in voter turnout for any population subgroup when comparing the effects of mandatory photo ID laws to voluntary photo ID, although the authors do not conduct a formal test of this hypothesis. However, it is unclear at this point how sensitive the estimates reported by Alvarez et al. will be to the inclusion of controls for the presence and competitiveness of statewide races. Consequently, the recent and on-going study by Mycoff et al. (2007) remains the most reliable and thorough systematic evaluation of the effects of photo ID laws on voter turnout to date.

In this review, I have demonstrated that both theory and the best evidence to date strongly suggest that the effects of photo ID on overall turnout are likely to be very modest (and may even be positive). Further, the best analyses of the differential impact of photo ID indicate no deleterious effects on minorities, the poor, or the elderly. In the next section, I demonstrate that these conclusions are borne out in the county-level election returns for Indiana.

### 3. Data and Methods

The subsequent empirical analysis examines the effects of photographic identification requirements on county-level turnout in Indiana. I analyze the change in voter turnout in the general midterm elections of 2002 and 2006; these elections offer a nearly ideal natural experiment for identifying the effects of photo ID on turnout. This is because there were no other major changes in Indiana election laws during this time period, so the impact of photo ID will not be confounded with other changes in state election administration. Further, because some demographic groups tend to have higher turnout in presidential election years, it is appropriate to compare turnout in the two most recent midterm elections. Finally, these two midterm elections are also relatively comparable since there were no major contested statewide races in either year.<sup>11</sup> Even so, I also check the whether the resulting estimates are sensitive to the inclusion of additional midterm and/or presidential election years; to preview: they are not.

I measure voter turnout as the percent of voting age population (VAP) in each election year; VAP is estimated by the U.S. Census as of July 1st of the

election year.<sup>12</sup> This measure is commonly employed in studies of voter turnout in aggregate data, since voter registration data is not of a consistent quality across time or jurisdiction. However, voting age population estimates including non-citizens and other persons that are not eligible to vote. While this is more problematic for studies of turnout in states with larger populations of ineligible voters, it is less likely to be a concern in a state like Indiana. Further, to the extent that the number of non-citizens is growing over time, and is disproportionately of Hispanic ethnicity, this has the effect of understating overall turnout in 2006, especially in areas with higher Hispanic populations.

For this reason, I also measure voter turnout as the percentage of the estimated number of citizens of voting age (CVAP) in each year. However, reliable estimates of CVAP at the county-level are not readily available, so I generated my own estimate based upon U.S. Census counts of non-citizens in 2000. In order to estimate CVAP by county in each year, I first calculate the ratio of citizens of voting age population to all the total voting age population for each county in 2000 from Census data. I then multiply the estimated VAP for each county and year by this ratio. However, the question of whether voter turnout should be measured as a percentage of VAP or CVAP is not surprisingly a non-issue in the present context; the correlation between the two measures is better than 98% for the time periods examined in this study.

In order to measure the overall effect of photo ID on voter turnout across the 92 Indiana counties, I estimate an ordinary least squares regression controlling for county-fixed effects and year effects. The county fixed-effects account for factors such as demographic differences across counties, while the year effects account for the different composition of state races in each election year. However, there has only been one general election in Indiana post-photo ID, so it is not possible to separately identify the overall effects of photo-ID on voter turnout absent additional assumptions. For this reason, the present analysis focuses on the effects of photo ID on different groups of eligible voters.

I evaluate claims about the relative effects of voter ID on racial and ethnic minorities, the poor, the elderly, persons without a high school diploma and Democrats by estimating the effects of photo ID on





turnout in counties with greater percentages of those groups as a percent county population. However, these demographic variables do not vary over time, since they are taken from the 2000 U.S. Census. This means that it is not possible to control for county-fixed effects when estimating the effects of photo ID on these particular demographic groups. For this reason, I account for differences in the demographic composition of counties by including control variables for per capita income and the percent of county population by several categories, including: age, education, ethnicity, female labor force participation, military status, non-citizens, party, poverty, race, and rural status (see Appendix). I also check the sensitivity of results when this list of control variables is pared down to just age, education, ethnicity, income and race.

Despite the plethora of county-level control variables described above, it is possible that there remain some unobserved county-level phenomena that may bias the estimated effects of photo ID on turnout in some unknown way. For this reason, I also examine the effects of photo ID on the within-county change in voter turnout since the most recent general election (i.e., the change in voter turnout from 2004 to 2006 compared to the change from 2000 to 2002). This alternative model effectively purges voter turnout of the county-specific factors mentioned above and so provides an important check on the estimates obtained from the basic model. Finally, because repeated observations at the county-level over time are not necessarily independent observations, I also control for clustering of standard errors by county in every regression model.

While most authors examine the effects of voter identification on voter turnout, some (e.g., Alvarez et al. 2007) look at the effects on the natural logarithm of voter turnout (i.e. “log turnout”); for this reason, I use both of these measures in my analysis. Therefore, in the next section I present estimates for four basic statistical models, where the dependent variable is i) turnout, ii) log turnout, iii) change in turnout, and iv) change in log turnout. I also discuss the sensitivity of these results to different measures of turnout, time periods or sets of control variables; for the most part, the key findings are quite robust to these alternative specifications.

#### 4. Results

Voter turnout as a percentage of VAP in Indiana was about 2 percentage points higher in 2006 compared to 2002. This increase in turnout was fairly uniform across all counties; the mean within-in county change in turnout was +1.76% ( $p < .001$ ). However, it is not possible to discern how much of this increase in turnout is attributable solely to the effects of photo ID; this is because there was also an uncompetitive Senate race in 2006. For example, the presence of a U.S. Senate election in 2006 might have led to an increase in turnout above what it would have been otherwise. On the other hand, the fact that there was no Democrat candidate in the 2006 Senate race might have led to lower turnout than otherwise. In fact, my examination of historical Senate election data does indeed suggest that state voter turnout tends to be lower when there is an uncompetitive Senate election at the top of the state ticket, all else constant. Assuming that this phenomenon occurred in 2006 in Indiana, then the photo ID likely led to an even greater increase in voter turnout than the 2% observed in the raw data.

Even so, I prefer to err on the side of caution in this report, so I focus only on the differential impact of photo ID across Indiana counties. In contrast to the situation for overall turnout in 2006, there is no a priori reason to believe that the uncompetitive 2006 Senate election influenced voter turnout in some counties more than others. Consequently, the effects of photo ID on turnout across counties with differing populations of minority, poor, low education, elderly voters, or Democrat voters can be identified and estimated in the available election data.

In Table 1A, I report the estimated effects of photo ID on both turnout and the change in turnout for counties with higher proportions of minority population. The table is divided into two panels; one for each model. For example, the results in the top panel of the table under column one indicate that photo ID increased voter turnout in counties with higher percentage of black population, albeit this estimate is not statistically significant ( $t=1.23$ ). However, the estimated magnitude of this effect is quite large; for each percentage point increase in black population in a county, voter turnout increases by 0.1 percentage points. Looking to the bottom panel of Table 1A under the same column, the estimated effect



of photo ID on the change in turnout for counties with a higher percentage of Black population is also positive, nearly identical in magnitude, although again not statistically distinguishable from zero ( $t=0.59$ ).

Moving to column two of Table 1A, the estimated effect of photo ID on voter turnout (top panel) for counties with larger Hispanic populations is negative, but much smaller in magnitude than that for Black population and also statistically insignificant. However, the impact of voter ID on the change in voter turnout for counties with greater Hispanic population is positive (even more so than for Black population), but once again not significantly different from zero (bottom panel).

In column three, I report the estimated effects of photo ID for both the Black and Hispanic variables; this model exhibits a similar pattern as when the variables are estimated separately. In all but one case the estimated effect of photo ID on turnout is positive for counties with more Black or Hispanic population. However, in no case are these variables individually or jointly significant.

The final column of Table 1A reports the effects of photo ID on turnout in counties with higher total minority population (non-white and/or Hispanic). The estimates are identical for both turnout and the change in turnout models. For each one percentage point increase in minority population, county turnout increases by 0.7 percentage points after the implementation of photo ID. Again, these effects are imprecisely estimated, so the null hypothesis of a zero differential effect of voter ID on turnout in counties with higher minority populations cannot be rejected.

My analysis of the effects of photo ID on turnout by race and ethnicity continues with an examination of the impact on both the log of turnout and the change in the log of turnout. The results of this estimation are reported in Table 1B; however, because this is a non-linear model, the coefficients do not have a similarly straightforward interpretation as before. For example, the point estimate of .003 for %Black in the top panel under column one of Table 1B has the following interpretation: for each percentage point increase in Black population in a county, voter turnout increases by .003 times voter turnout in 2002. For example, given a county-wide voter turnout rate of 30% in 2002, the implementation of photo ID is associated with a .09 percentage point increase in 2006

turnout for each percentage point of black population (or a nearly identical effect as was observed in Table 1A).

Given the complexity of interpreting the estimates in Table 1B, and the fact that none of these estimates are significantly different from zero (either individually, or in the case of column three, jointly), I will only note that the pattern of qualitative results obtained in the log models of turnout is very similar to that seen in Table 1A. In fact, the only substantive difference is that the effect of photo ID on Hispanic population is uniformly more positive.

To this point, there is no evidence that photo ID requirements in Indiana reduced voter turnout, either overall, or in counties with relatively larger racial or ethnic minority populations. Re-estimating these models for the three most recent midterm elections (1998, 2002 and 2006) yields a similar pattern of results, with one exception: the effect of photo ID on counties with more Hispanic population is consistently positive. Similarly, including presidential election years, along with additional controls for the differing turnout tendencies in midterm versus presidential election years, likewise produces nearly identical results. Finally, substituting citizen voting age population (CVAP) for VAP in any of the models discussed above has the effect of making the estimated effects of photo ID on Hispanic population positive, but otherwise yields no appreciable difference.

The analysis above is repeated for other demographic groups in Tables 2A and 2B. Specifically, I examine the effects of photo ID on turnout in counties with higher percentages of families below the poverty line (%Poverty), persons with less than a high school degree (%No High School) education, and persons over 65 years of age (%Elderly). These demographic variables are never statistically significant in the turnout models shown in panel one of Table 2A, although both the percent of county population in poverty or elderly approach statistical significance ( $p<.15$ ). The effect of photo ID on turnout in counties with more poor families is positive, while the effect on turnout in counties with more elderly population is negative. However, these effects are largely attenuated for the change in turnout, and especially so for the percentage elderly (bottom panel of Table 2B). The effect of photo ID on turnout in counties with relatively fewer high school graduates exhibits a similar



pattern; it is negative and insignificant in panel one, but closer to zero and less precisely estimated in panel two. Further, these three demographic variables are jointly insignificant in both models. Finally, all of the race, ethnicity and demographic variables examined to this point are also not jointly significant when they are all simultaneously included in these turnout models.

As was the case for the race and ethnicity variables, the same general pattern of qualitative effects are observed in the log turnout and change in log turnout models (Table 2B); in addition, the demographic variables (poverty, no high school and elderly) are not jointly significant, nor is the combination of these demographic variables with the race and ethnicity variables examined in Table 1A and 1B. Re-estimating these four models for additional years, and/or substituting CVAP for VAP likewise yields no major changes, although the estimated effects of photo ID on counties with more elderly or low-education population become more positive and less precisely estimated.

The final variable examined is the extent of Democrat voting preferences in a county; this is measured using a common proxy in the political science literature, the county vote percentage for the Democrat presidential candidate in 2004 (John Kerry). The results for this variable are found in column four of Tables 2A and 2B. In all but one case, the effect of voter ID on turnout in highly Democrat-leaning counties is statistically significant or marginally so ( $p < .10$  or better). In every case examined in Tables 2A and 2B, photo ID is associated with higher turnout in counties with a greater share of Democrat leaning voters. The magnitude of this estimated effect is about 0.1 percentage points higher voter turnout in 2006 per percentage point increase in John Kerry's 2004 vote percentage in the county. [This result holds up even when the model is estimated using additional election years or citizen voting age population, as above.]

I have also estimated all of the models described above with a more sparse set of control variables, only including controls for age, education, ethnicity, income, and race. However, the choice of these control variables does not yield any notable changes in the pattern of results discussed here.

As a final sensitivity check, all of the models above have been estimated without the adjustment for

clustering of observations at the county level. This does not affect the estimated coefficients in these models but in general will affect the standard errors of the estimates. The effect of the cluster-adjustment to standard errors is to make some of the key estimates described above more precise; without the cluster-adjustment, none of the coefficients on percent elderly or percent poor remain even marginally statistically significant (i.e.,  $p > .10$  in every case). The only coefficient estimates that remain statistically significant without the cluster-adjustment are those for the percent Democrat in the county.

## 5. Discussion

Given the context of the existing research on voter turnout, my findings for Indiana are completely unsurprising. Despite the attention-grabbing and often strident claims that voter identification is the modern version of the poll tax and the like, nothing could be further from the truth. Existing theory and evidence from decades of social science research do not support the contention that photo ID requirements are likely to have a large and detrimental impact on turnout; nor does the previous empirical evidence find any significant impact of photo identification on racial or ethnic minorities. Further, the best previous evidence to date also finds no significant impact of photo ID on the poor or the elderly.

In this study, I exploit the existence of a natural experiment on the impact of photo ID: the change in turnout between the 2002 and 2006 midterm elections in Indiana. My analysis is novel not only for its focus on the effects of photo ID in Indiana, but because I subject my findings to a battery of sensitivity checks. This is also the first study to analyze the differential impact of photo ID requirements on turnout among more Democrat-leaning voters.

The findings that emerge from my analysis are that photo ID is associated with: i) an overall county-level turnout increase of almost two percentage points, ii) an insignificant increase in relative turnout for counties with a greater percentage of minority and poor population, iii) no consistent or significant impact on relative turnout in counties with a greater percentage of less educated or elderly voters, and iv) a significant relative increase in turnout for counties with a higher percentage of Democrat voters.



1 The term “mandatory” is a misnomer, since voters without proper photo ID are still allowed to cast a provisional ballot at the polls.

2 For example, see the recent brief for certiorari submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court by the Indiana Democratic Party and Marion County Democratic Central Committee (Indian Democratic Party, et al. v. Todd Rokita, et. al.).

3 Hood and Bullock (2007) argue that about 5% of registered voter names in Georgia do not have a valid driver’s license or state identification card; however, the authors make no attempt to investigate how many of the registered voter names are actually attached to eligible voters. This is a rather egregious error, since it is well known that voter registration lists overstate, sometimes quite dramatically, the number of valid eligible voters due to duplicate, erroneous, out-dated and even fraudulent registrations. For example, in Indiana, the number of registered voters exceeds the number of voters that report being registered by more than 40% (Schulz 2007).

4 Ansolabehere (2007) does not explicitly report how many of the 23 persons with voter identification issues cast provisional ballots, although it would appear to be nearly all of them, since elsewhere he writes: “an almost immeasurably small number of people who tried to vote were excluded because of identification requirements or questions with their qualifications;” also, Ansolabehere notes that only three persons did not vote because of any problems with their voter registration.

5 Given the bitter partisan debate over voter identification, it would not be surprising if a handful of respondents chose to exaggerate their experience at the polls; in light of this, it is quite amazing that so few respondents self-report problems voting.

6 Ansolabehere (2007) reports that large majorities support voter identification reforms, including 70% of Blacks, 78% of Hispanics and 67% of all Democrats; in fact, persons who were asked to show identification when voting in 2006 were even more supportive of voter identification requirements than other respondents.

7 Also, see Primo and Milyo 2006a,b on the effects of political institutions on citizen trust and voter turnout.

8 For example, influential evidence on the importance of the intrinsic value of voting comes from field experiments in which those individuals that receive reminders about their civic duty to

vote are more likely to do so (Gerber and Green 2000). Further evidence comes from Ansolabehere, et al (1999); they argue that negative campaign advertising reduces voter turnout primarily because of its detrimental effect on public trust in the political process.

9 In fact, the two studies are nearly identical, as Vercellotti and Anderson were part of the research team that produced the Eagleton (2006) report.

10 Personal communication with Jason Mycoff (November 9, 2007).

11 There was not a gubernatorial or U.S. Senate election in Indiana in 2002. In 2006, there was a U.S. Senate race in which Richard Lugar, a Republican, was not opposed by a Democrat; Lugar defeated his closest opponent, a Libertarian candidate, by 87.3% to 12.6% of the total vote.

12 All data employed in this study were provided by Polidata (www.Polidata.org).

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**Table 1A: Effects of Photo ID by Race and Ethnicity  
(County Turnout in 2002 and 2006)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Panel One: % Voting Age Pop. (%VAP)</i>				
%Black*PhotoID	0.10 (1.23)		0.12 (1.44)	
%Hispanic*PhotoID		-0.03 (0.21)	-0.15 (0.97)	
%Minority*PhotoID				0.07 (1.27)
<i>Panel Two: Change in % Voting Age Pop.</i>				
%Black*PhotoID	0.09 (0.59)		0.08 (0.45)	
%Hispanic*PhotoID		0.13 (0.83)	0.06 (0.28)	
%Minority*PhotoID				0.07 (0.72)

**NOTES:** Absolute values of t-statistics in parentheses (adjusted for clustering by counties). The estimated effects of photo ID interacted with percent Black and Hispanic are also not jointly significant in either panel above. All models include controls for year and characteristics of county population, including: age, education, ethnicity, female labor force participation, income per capita, military status, non-citizens, party, poverty, race, and rural status.



**Table 1B: Effects of Photo ID by Race and Ethnicity**  
**(Natural Logarithm of County Turnout in 2002 and 2006)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Panel One: Log of % Voting Age Pop. (%VAP)</i>				
%Black*PhotoID	.003 (1.42)		.004 (1.50)	
%Hispanic*PhotoID		.000 (0.08)	-.003 (0.82)	
%Minority*PhotoID				.002 (1.55)
<i>Panel Two: Change in Log of % Voting Age Pop.</i>				
%Black*PhotoID	.002 (0.67)		.002 (0.58)	
%Hispanic*PhotoID		.002 (0.55)	-.000 (0.00)	
%Minority*PhotoID				.002 (0.82)

**NOTES:** Absolute values of t-statistics in parentheses (adjusted for clustering by counties). The estimated effects of photo ID interacted with percent Black and Hispanic are also not jointly significant in either panel above. All models include controls for year and characteristics of county population, including: age, education, ethnicity, female labor force participation, income per capita, military status, non-citizens, party, poverty, race, and rural status.



Table 2A: Effects of Photo ID by Poverty, Education, Age, and Party (County Turnout in 2002 and 2006)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Panel One: % Voting Age Pop. (%VAP)</i>				
%Poverty*PhotoID	0.29 (1.67)			
%NoHighSchool*PhotoID		-0.08 (1.25)		
%Elderly*PhotoID			-0.36 (1.89)	
%Democrat*PhotoID				0.10 (2.22)
<i>Panel Two: Change in % Voting Age Pop.</i>				
%Poverty*PhotoID	0.17 (0.98)			
%NoHighSchool*PhotoID		-0.01 (0.11)		
%Elderly*PhotoID			-0.08 (0.41)	
%Democrat*PhotoID				0.11 (1.59)
<b>NOTES:</b> Absolute values of t-statistics in parentheses (adjusted for clustering by counties). The estimated effects of photo ID interacted with percent poverty, no high school degree and elderly are also not jointly significant in either panel above. All models include controls for year and characteristics of county population, including: age, education, ethnicity, female labor force participation, income per capita, military status, non-citizens, party, poverty, race, and rural status.				





**Table 2B: Effects of Photo ID by Poverty, Education, Age, and Party**  
**(Natural Logarithm of County Turnout in 2002 and 2006)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Panel One: Log of % Voting Age Pop. (%VAP)</i>				
%Poverty*PhotoID	.007 (1.56)			
%NoHighSchool*PhotoID		-.003 (1.60)		
%Elderly*PhotoID			-.011 (2.08)	
%Democrat*PhotoID				.003 (2.28)
<i>Panel Two: Change in Log of % Voting Age Pop.</i>				
%Poverty*PhotoID	.004 (0.88)			
%NoHighSchool*PhotoID		-.001 (1.05)		
%Elderly*PhotoID			-.005 (0.99)	
%Democrat*PhotoID				.003 (1.87)

**NOTES:** Absolute values of t-statistics in parentheses (adjusted for clustering by counties). The estimated effects of photo ID interacted with percent poverty, no high school degree and elderly are also not jointly significant in either panel above. All models include controls for year and characteristics of county population, including: age, education, ethnicity, female labor force participation, income per capita, military status, non-citizens, party, poverty, race, and rural status.



**APPENDIX :**

The following county-level census variables are included as controls in the statistical analysis:

Percent non-Hispanic Black  
Percent Hispanic  
Percent non-white and/or Hispanic

Natural logarithm of per-capita income  
Percent of families in poverty

Percent without a high school degree (omitted category)  
Percent with at most a high school degree  
Percent with some college education  
Percent with college degree  
Percent with post-graduate education

Percent age less than 5 years (omitted category)  
Percent age between 5 and 17 years  
Percent age between 19 and 24 years  
Percent age between 25 and 44 years  
Percent age between 45 and 64 years  
Percent age 65 or more

Percent voting for John Kerry in 2004 (of those casting votes in 2004)

Percent active military  
Percent female labor force participation  
Percent non-citizens  
Percent retired military  
Percent rural

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## **Much-hyped Turnout Record Fails to Materialize Convenience Voting Fails to Boost Balloting**

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Jon Hussey, AU Media Relations, 202-885-5935 or [hussey@american.edu](mailto:hussey@american.edu)

WASHINGTON, D.C. (November 6, 2008)—Despite lofty predictions by some academics, pundits, and practitioners that voter turnout would reach levels not seen since the turn of the last century, the percentage of eligible citizens casting ballots in the 2008 presidential election stayed at virtually the same relatively high level as it reached in the polarized election of 2004.

According to a report and turnout projection released today by American University's Center for the Study of the American Electorate (CSAE) and based, in part, on nearly final but unofficial vote tabulations as compiled by the Associated Press as of 7 p.m. Wednesday, November 5, the percentage of Americans who cast ballots for president in this year's presidential election will reach between 126.5 million and 128.5 million when all votes have been counted by early next month.

If this prediction proves accurate, turnout would be at either exactly the same level as in 2004 or, at most, one percentage point higher (or between 60.7 percent and 61.7 percent). If the rate of voting exceeds 61.0 percent of eligibles, turnout will have been the highest since 1964. This projection is based on the 121.5 million tabulated votes compiled by the Associated Press plus some estimate—partially based on experience with post-election vote counting in previous elections and partially based on factors specific to this election, most notably the spread of balloting prior to Election Day—on how many ballots are still to be counted.

A downturn in the number and percentage of Republican voters going to the polls seemed to be the primary explanation for the lower than predicted turnout. The percentage of eligible citizens voting Republican declined to 28.7 percent down 1.3 percentage points from 2004. Democratic turnout increased by 2.6 percentage points from 28.7 percent of eligibles to 31.3 percent. It was the seventh straight increase in the Democratic share of the eligible vote since the party's share dropped to 22.7 percent of eligibles in 1980.

Of the 47 states and the District of Columbia included in this report, turnout was up in only 22 states and D.C. (Because of the extensive uncounted no excuse absentee balloting in Alaska and California and all-mail voting in Oregon and most of the state of Washington, those states are not included in this report.)

“Many people were fooled (including this student of politics although less so than many others) by this year's increase in registration (more than 10 million added to the rolls), citizens' willingness to

stand for hours even in inclement weather to vote early, the likely rise in youth and African American voting, and the extensive grassroots organizing network of the Obama campaign into believing that turnout would be substantially higher than in 2004,” said Curtis Gans, CSAE’s director. “But we failed to realize that the registration increase was driven by Democratic and independent registration and that the long lines at the polls were mostly populated by Democrats.”

Gans attributed the GOP downturn to three factors: 1) John McCain’s efforts to unite the differing factions in the Republican Party by the nomination of Governor Sarah Palin as vice-presidential nominee was a singular failure. By election time many culturally conservative Republicans still did not see him as one of their own and stayed home, while moderate Republicans saw the nomination of Palin reckless and worried about McCain’s steadiness. 2) As events moved towards Election Day, there was a growing perception of a Democratic landslide, discouraging GOP voters. 3) The 2008 election was a mirror image of the 2004 election. In the 2004 election, the enthusiasm level was on the Republican side. By Election Day, Democratic voters were not motivated by their candidate but rather by opposition to President Bush, while Republican voters had a much greater liking for their standard bearer. In 2008 and according to polls from several sources, by at least 20 percentage points, Obama enjoyed stronger allegiance than McCain. Even the best get-out-the-vote activities tend to be as successful as the affirmative emotional context in which they are working. In 2004, that context favored the GOP. In 2008, it favored the Democrats.

“In the end, this election was driven by deep economic concerns and the prevailing emotional climate,” Gans said. “While there probably has not been, since 1932, the confluence of factors that underlay this election—90 percent of the American people seeing the nation on the wrong track, 75 percent disapproving of the president’s performance, more than 80 percent perceiving a recession and feeling that things will get worse, and the reality of growing economic distress—on one level this election was typical. When economic conditions go bad, the party in the White House gets blamed and they lose.”

### **Convenience Voting Didn't Help**

During the past several years, and in the belief that turnout would be enhanced, many states have moved to various forms of what has been called convenience voting. The most extreme form is the all-mail balloting in Oregon, and more recently, in most of the state of Washington. Other forms include no-excuse absentee voting (whereby citizens can get absentee ballots without stating a reason and cast them for a period in advance of the election), early voting (whereby at certain polling places established by election officials in convenient locations, citizens can, in person, cast ballots for a specified period before an election) and Election Day registration (where a citizen can both register and vote on Election Day).

The evidence from the 2008 election is that if the mission of these electoral devices is turnout enhancement, the mission has been a failure.

Of the 14 states which had the largest turnout increases in 2008, only six had implemented one form or another of convenience voting. Of the 13 states which had the largest turnout decreases, all but one had one form or another of convenience voting. (See chart 3.)

“It has always been abundantly clear that, after four decades of making it easier to vote and having turnout decline (among most groups) except for elections driven by fear and anger,” Gans said, “the central issue governing turnout is not procedure but motivation. These new procedures, except for Election Day registration for some states, don’t help turnout and pose some discrete dangers for American democracy.”

### **Some Statistical Highlights:**

Of the states included in this report, Democratic turnout increased in all but seven states, led by Indiana (up 8.32 percentage points), North Carolina (8.3), Hawaii (6.4), Delaware (6.1), Georgia (6.1), North Dakota (6.0), Nevada (5.9), Montana (5.4), New Mexico (.1), and Virginia (5.0)—all except Hawaii, new areas of potential Democratic strength. Republican turnout increased in only eight of 47 states and the District of Columbia included in this report.

The greatest increase in overall turnout was in North Carolina, where turnout increased by 9.4 percentage points to a record high. Georgia also had a record high turnout, increasing by 6.7 percentage points, as did South Carolina with a 6.0 percentage point increase. Others setting new records included Alabama, Virginia, Mississippi, and the District of Columbia.

As usual the highest turnout was recorded in Minnesota (75.9 percent of eligible), followed by Wisconsin (70.9), Iowa (68.9), Missouri (67.4), Michigan (66.7), South Dakota (66.7), and North Carolina (66.3).

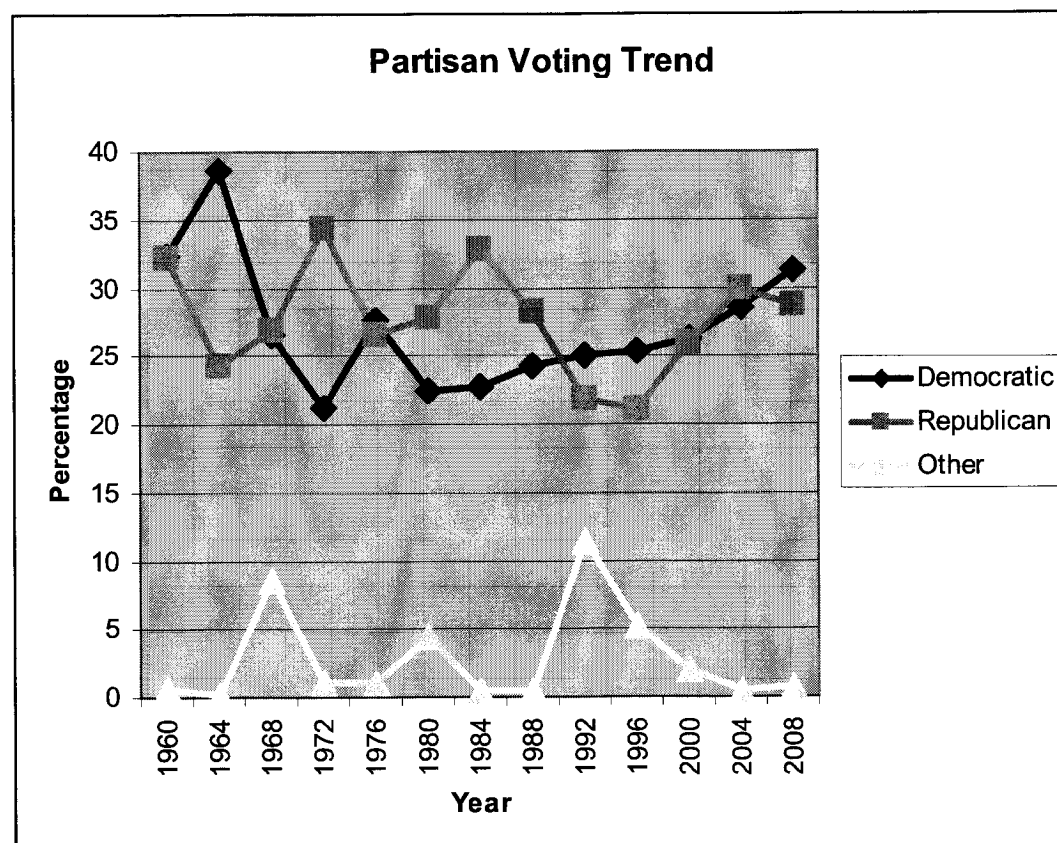
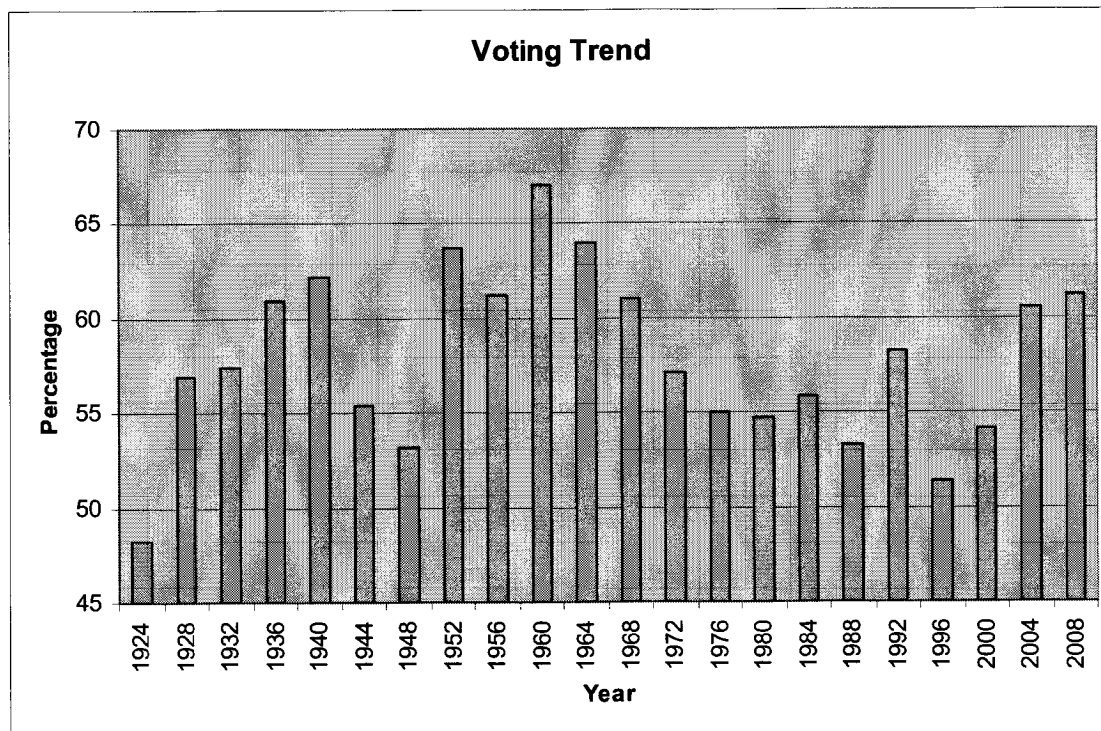
**Commentary (Two Shorts for Longer Future Analysis):**

**1. The opportunity for long-term realignment:** The Democratic victory was not only large in margin and sweeping in scope, it also was a continuation of their gains in share of the eligible vote, which began after the 1980 election and many of their largest gains in 2008 came in states where the Democrats had not previously had a foothold—in the post-Voting Rights Act south and in the mountain west and southwest. While this election did not in itself realign American politics after 28-years of Republican dominance, it presented the opportunity for such a realignment to take place. But that realignment can only occur if President-elect Obama is a successful president. If he restores political trust, economic stability, international respect, and broad citizen approval, the Democrats could be in power everywhere for a very long time. But that is a tall order which may not be, given the severity of current conditions, an accomplishable task. However, the GOP would be wise not to play politics in the manner they utilized during the Clinton Administration—a manner that was largely obstructionist and nay-saying. If they pursue that strategy in the face of Obama's call to cooperation in dealing with crisis, the GOP could be in the political wilderness for a very, very, long time.

**2. Convenience Voting:** This election showed what many previous elections have shown—that the types of innovations adopted in the past several years—particularly early voting, no-excuse absentee voting and mail voting—do not enhance and may hurt turnout. They pose other dangers—the most significant is the danger that something may occur on the last few days of the electoral season, such as, the present context, the capture of Osama Bin Laden, a domestic terrorist act, or an elderly candidate having a heart attack—after 35 million citizens have cast an irrevocable vote. With the exception of those who physically can't get to the polls or those who for business reasons can't be at the polls on a given election day, the nation would be safer if everyone voted on the same day. Mail voting and no-excuse absentee voting also offer the greatest opportunity for voting fraud and intimidation of any aspect of the electoral system. This is because these forms of voting provide for the elimination by any individual of their right to a secret ballot and thus, their vote could be (and has been on a few occasions) bought, or someone delivering an open ballot filled out the “wrong” way could discard it, or one could be pressured at ballot signing parties among one's peers, pressure easy to resist behind a voting curtain, not so easy to resist at the home of a friend. It is why the United States adopted the Australian (secret) ballot in the first place around the turn of the last century.

But in a larger sense, convenience voting is addressing a real problem with the wrong solutions. The participation problem is, at heart, not procedural but motivational. In a variety of ways, events, politics, leadership, education, communications, and values have damped the religion of civic engagement and responsibility. We will not get that back by treating would-be voters as spoiled children. We need to demand more of our citizenry rather than less. The Democrats liked convenience voting this time because it benefitted them. The Republicans liked it in 2004 because it benefitted them. But democracy was not benefitted. These devices are extremely popular, but popularity is not the same as wisdom and in this case, it is antithetical. It's time to consider rolling them back.





## SUMMARY CHARTS

**1. Turnout Trend:** The number and percentage of eligible citizens who voted for President in elections since 1924. The 2008 figure is an estimate:

YEAR	Citizens Eligible	Vote	Percent of Eligible Voted	Pct. Pt. Dif.
2008	208,323,000	127,500,000 (est.)**	61.2	0.6
2004	201,780,000	122,265,430	60.6	6.4
2000	194,327,000	105,399,313	54.2	2.8
1996	187,437,000	96,277,872	51.4	-6.9
1992	179,048,000	104,428,377	58.3	5.0
1988	171,855,000	91,594,805	53.3	-2.6
1984	165,727,000	92,659,600	55.9	1.2
1980	158,111,000	86,515,221	54.7	-0.3
1976	148,419,000	81,555,889	55.0	-2.1
1972	136,228,000	77,718,554	57.1	-3.9
1968	119,955,000	73,211,875	61.0	-1.0
1964	113,979,000	70,645,592	64.0*	-3.0
1960	106,188,000	68,838,219	67.0*	5.8
1956	101,295,000	62,026,908	61.2	-2.5
1952	96,607,000	61,550,918	63.7	10.5
1948	91,689,000	48,793,826	53.2	-2.2
1944	86,607,000	47,976,670	55.4	-6.8
1940	80,248,000	49,900,418	62.2	1.3
1936	75,013,000	45,654,763	60.9	3.5
1932	69,295,000	39,758,759	57.4	0.5
1928	64,715,000	36,805,951	56.9	8.6
1924	60,334,466	29,095,023	48.2	

\* Figure adjusted upwards to compensate for the African-Americans considered as part of those eligible but denied the vote throughout the south. Similar adjustments in lesser amounts should be made for all the years preceding the Voting Rights Act of 1965, but will await CSAE's final election report in January. Actual figures, without adjustment are 62 percent for 1964 and 64.9 for 1960.

\*\* CSAE's estimated 2008 general election turnout is within a range between 126,500,000 and 128,500,500 or between 60.7 percent of eligibles and 61.7 percent.



**2. Partisan Turnout Trend:** Percentage of eligible citizens who voted for the presidential candidate of each major party. The vote percentage in 2008 is based on near final but unofficial counted returns. Percentages for previous years are based on final and official results:

<b>Year</b>	<b>Democratic</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Other</b>
2008	31.3	28.7	0.8
2004	28.5	30.0	0.5
2000	26.3	26.0	2.0
1996	25.3	21.0	5.2
1992	25.0	21.8	11.4
1988	24.2	28.3	0.5
1984	22.7	32.9	0.4
1980	22.4	27.8	4.5
1976	27.6	26.5	1.1
1972	21.2	34.4	1.0
1968	26.5	26.9	8.6
1964	38.6	24.2	0.2
1960	32.3	32.2	0.6

**3. Convenience Voting and Turnout**

State	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	2008 % VAP Voted	2004 % VAP Voted	2008 - 2004		Early Voting	No Excuse Absentee	EDR
					Pt Diff	% Diff			
NC	6,423,000	4,256,702	66.27	56.83	9.45	16.63	X	X	
GA	6,302,000	3,862,027	61.28	54.72	6.56	11.98		X	
SC	3,224,000	1,876,073	58.19	52.15	6.04	11.58			
AL	3,394,000	2,091,143	61.61	56.34	5.27	9.36			
IN	4,586,000	2,737,551	59.69	54.74	4.96	9.06			
NV	1,642,000	965,120	58.78	55.31	3.47	6.28	X	X	
MO	4,328,000	2,916,663	67.39	64.62	2.77	4.29			
MS	2,151,000	1,212,506	56.37	54.10	2.27	4.20			
DC	371,000	226,573	61.07	58.66	2.41	4.12			
TN	4,512,000	2,614,005	57.93	55.67	2.26	4.06	X		
VA	5,560,000	3,460,712	62.24	59.91	2.34	3.90			
TX	14,886,000	8,045,310	54.05	52.23	1.82	3.48	X		
MA	4,625,000	3,047,312	65.89	63.77	2.12	3.32		X	
DE	630,000	403,631	64.07	62.22	1.85	2.97			
ID	1,024,000	651,714	63.64	61.88	1.76	2.85		X	X
NM	1,346,000	798,986	59.36	58.35	1.01	1.73	X	X	
MI	7,490,000	4,993,499	66.67	66.08	0.59	0.89			
MT	731,000	472,014	64.57	64.07	0.50	0.78		X	
IL	8,540,000	5,339,577	62.52	62.31	0.21	0.34			
ND	485,000	315,987	65.15	65.04	0.11	0.18	X	X	
KS	1,968,000	1,206,127	61.29	61.26	0.03	0.05		X	
KY	3,147,000	1,828,097	58.09	58.21	-0.12	-0.21			
PA	9,450,000	5,830,312	61.70	61.88	-0.18	-0.29			
FL	12,923,000	8,072,686	62.47	62.77	-0.30	-0.48	X	X	
AR	2,065,000	1,075,428	52.08	52.35	-0.28	-0.53			
IA	2,201,000	1,515,815	68.87	69.28	-0.41	-0.60	X	X	X
NJ	5,904,000	3,653,773	61.89	62.41	-0.52	-0.84		X	
LA	3,338,000	1,958,059	58.66	59.28	-0.62	-1.04			
MN	3,824,000	2,901,017	75.86	76.75	-0.89	-1.16			X
OK	2,561,000	1,461,931	57.08	57.90	-0.82	-1.41		X	
WY	388,000	246,329	63.49	64.74	-1.25	-1.94		X	X
NE	1,243,000	767,057	61.71	63.11	-1.40	-2.22		X	
CT	2,518,000	1,567,752	62.26	64.02	-1.76	-2.75			
RI	790,000	434,411	54.99	56.70	-1.71	-3.01			
SD	573,000	381,876	66.65	69.08	-2.43	-3.52		X	
WI	4,183,000	2,965,159	70.89	73.82	-2.94	-3.98		X	X
CO	3,219,000	2,110,209	65.55	68.30	-2.75	-4.02	X	X	
NY	12,653,000	7,011,244	55.41	58.83	-3.42	-5.81			
HI	918,000	415,995	45.32	48.48	-3.16	-6.52		X	
VT	495,000	302,337	61.08	65.47	-4.40	-6.71		X	
MD	4,064,000	2,312,316	56.90	61.04	-4.14	-6.79		X	
NH	1,016,000	662,456	65.20	70.01	-4.80	-6.86			X
WV	1,428,000	707,702	49.56	53.40	-3.84	-7.20	X		
OH	8,562,000	5,227,180	61.05	66.54	-5.49	-8.25		X	
UT	1,578,000	883,658	56.00	61.41	-5.41	-8.81		X	
ME	1,048,000	674,670	64.38	73.34	-8.96	-12.22		X	X
AZ	4,117,000	1,886,811	45.83	52.96	-7.13	-13.47	X	X	

Eleven states conduct early voting. Twenty five conduct no-excuse absentee voting. Seven states conduct Election day registration. Twelve states have a combination of methods.

**4. Other Candidate Vote:** Votes for, percentage share of eligible vote, and party affiliations of presidential candidates other than the major party candidates:

Candidate	Party	Total Vote	Percentage
Ralph Nader	Ecology, Unaffiliated, Independent, Natural Law, None, Peace	658,393	0.32%
Bob Barr	Libertarian, Independent	489,661	0.24%
Chuck Baldwin	Alaska Independence, Constitution, Independent American, Independent Green, Independent, Nebraska Independent, Reform, US Taxpayers	175,048	0.08%
Cynthia McKinney	Green, Independent, Mountain, Pacific Green, Unaffiliated	143,160	0.07%
Alan Keyes	America's Independent	35,105	0.02%
Ron Paul	Libertarian, Constitution	19,583	0.01%
Gloria La Riva	Independent, Socialism and Liberation, New American Independent	7,558	0.00%
Roger Calero	Socialist Workers, Independent	7,184	0.00%
Brian Moore	Independent, Liberty Union, Socialist	6,392	0.00%
None of these candidates		6,251	0.00%
Richard Duncan	Independent	3,677	0.00%
James Harris	Socialist Workers	2,417	0.00%
Charles Jay	Boston Tea, Independent	2,310	0.00%
John Joseph Polachek	New	1,223	0.00%
Jeffrey Wamboldt	Independent	770	0.00%
Frank McEnulty	New American Independent	742	0.00%
Thomas Stevens	Objectivist	685	0.00%
Gene Amondson	Prohibition	631	0.00%
Jeffrey Boss	Independent	603	0.00%
George Phillies	Libertarian	470	0.00%
Ted Weill	Reform	470	0.00%
Jonathan Allen	HeartQuake '08	278	0.00%
Bradford Lyttle	Pacifist	97	0.00%

5. Total Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham 2008 vs 2004  
 Ranked By Percent Point Difference  
 President - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	2008 % VAP Voted	2004 % VAP Voted	—2008 - 2004— Point Diff /	% Diff
NC	6,423,000	4,256,702	66.27	57.21	9.06 /	15.84
GA	6,302,000	3,862,027	61.28	55.10	6.18 /	11.22
SC	3,224,000	1,876,073	58.19	52.49	5.70 /	10.86
AL	3,394,000	2,091,143	61.61	56.47	5.14 /	9.10
IN	4,586,000	2,737,551	59.69	54.88	4.81 /	8.76
DC	371,000	226,573	61.07	58.21	2.86 /	4.91
NV	1,642,000	965,120	58.78	56.09	2.69 /	4.80
MO	4,328,000	2,916,663	67.39	64.88	2.51 /	3.87
MS	2,151,000	1,212,506	56.37	54.28	2.09 /	3.85
TN	4,512,000	2,614,005	57.93	55.94	1.99 /	3.56
MA	4,625,000	3,047,312	65.89	63.90	1.99 /	3.11
VA	5,560,000	3,460,712	62.24	60.30	1.94 /	3.22
TX	14,888,000	8,045,310	54.05	52.61	1.44 /	2.74
DE	630,000	403,631	64.07	62.74	1.33 /	2.12
ID	1,024,000	651,714	63.64	62.53	1.11 /	1.78
NM	1,346,000	798,966	59.36	58.71	0.65 /	1.11
MI	7,490,000	4,993,499	66.67	66.33	0.34 /	0.51
IL	8,540,000	5,339,577	62.52	62.35	0.17 /	0.27
ND	465,000	315,967	65.15	65.04	0.11 /	0.17
MT	731,000	472,014	64.57	64.53	0.04 /	0.06
KS	1,968,000	1,206,127	61.29	61.38	-0.09 /	-0.15
KY	3,147,000	1,828,097	58.09	58.40	-0.31 /	-0.53
PA	9,450,000	5,830,312	61.70	62.02	-0.32 /	-0.52
AR	2,065,000	1,075,426	52.08	52.54	-0.46 /	-0.88
IA	2,201,000	1,515,815	68.87	69.41	-0.54 /	-0.78
NJ	5,904,000	3,653,773	61.89	62.58	-0.69 /	-1.10
LA	3,338,000	1,958,059	58.66	59.48	-0.82 /	-1.38
OK	2,561,000	1,461,931	57.08	58.02	-0.94 /	-1.62
FL	12,923,000	8,072,666	62.47	63.44	-0.97 /	-1.53
MN	3,824,000	2,901,017	75.86	77.21	-1.35 /	-1.75
NE	1,243,000	767,057	61.71	63.22	-1.51 /	-2.39
WY	388,000	246,329	63.49	65.09	-1.60 /	-2.46
RI	790,000	434,411	54.99	56.82	-1.83 /	-3.39
CT	2,518,000	1,567,752	62.26	64.23	-1.97 /	-3.07
SD	573,000	381,876	66.65	69.32	-2.67 /	-3.85
CO	3,219,000	2,110,209	65.55	68.61	-3.06 /	-4.46
WI	4,183,000	2,965,159	70.89	74.19	-3.30 /	-4.45
NY	12,653,000	7,011,244	55.41	58.86	-3.45 /	-5.86
HI	918,000	415,995	45.32	48.81	-3.49 /	-7.15
WV	1,428,000	707,702	49.56	53.48	-3.92 /	-7.33
MD	4,064,000	2,312,316	56.90	61.45	-4.55 /	-7.40
VT	495,000	302,337	61.08	65.89	-4.81 /	-7.30
NH	1,016,000	662,456	65.20	70.59	-5.39 /	-7.64
OH	8,562,000	5,227,160	61.05	66.67	-5.62 /	-8.43
UT	1,578,000	883,656	56.00	61.82	-5.82 /	-9.41
AZ	4,117,000	1,886,811	45.83	53.67	-7.84 /	-14.61
ME	1,048,000	674,670	64.38	73.85	-9.47 /	-12.82

For years also, Dr. Walter Dean Burnham, professor emeritus at the University of Texas at Austin, has been producing a denominator of age-eligible citizens (age-eligible population minus age-eligible noncitizens, interpolated by state and nation from and between decennial censuses). After some study of this matter, CSAE has come to believe that this denominator is the best for determining turnout, subject to the caveat below. It has come to this belief because of two factors:

1. **Available data:** One does not determine turnout simply for any given year but also as an historical comparison with previous years. Data for several of the issues involving the inadequacy of the age-eligible population (VAP) figures are either simply not available, not available in a timely manner, not available over a given period of history, or not allocatable to the states. Data on convicted and incarcerated felons are only available for a fairly recent time period. State laws on whether convicted felons and ex-felons can vote are changing and have changed over time. There is no accurate set of figures on those deemed mentally incompetent. The number of American citizens residing abroad is ascertainable but the number of age-eligible has to be estimated and there are no figures that allow the allocation of these citizens by state. Naturalization figures come in too late, often a year or two after the election year, to be usable in any current population accounting. And while any given Census undercount can be allocated by state, one can only estimate how much of that undercount is of citizens as opposed to noncitizens.

2. **The balance of the figures:** In studying this statistical problem, CSAE has found that the most important issue is that of noncitizens. If one wants to have a relatively accurate picture of turnout, one must eliminate the noncitizens from the age-eligible population. On the other hand, the other adjustments to the denominator would not substantially differ from the denominator of citizen age-eligible population. In pursuing its inquiry into this topic, CSAE found that the factors which would lower the denominator—felons, ex-felons, and people deemed mentally incompetent who can't vote—are roughly equal to two of the factors which would increase the denominator—citizens living in other countries and naturalization who could vote. If one added a ballpark figure for the number of citizens in the undercount who could vote, the factors in those years of an undercount, other than noncitizens, which would increase the denominator exceeds those that would reduce it.

The one caveat in adopting the Burnham methodology lock, stock, and barrel is that Burnham interpolates from census to census. These censuses are accurate as of April 1 of each decennial year for all of the past 50 years. (In prior years, census results captured the population as of varying months.) In order to have more accurate figures for November, CSAE has, using the same methodology, projected citizen population to November. Thus, CSAE used for reports on primaries the April figure for age-eligible citizen population but is using the November figure for this report and any others relating to the general election.

## METHODOLOGY

Since the decennial census population figures are accurate as of April 1 in each census year, the VAP Burnham dataset calculates the difference in the required census figures between a base census year and the same figures as reported in the following census. To estimate the voting age population for the years between the censuses, the difference between them is simply multiplied by the number of months that have passed beyond April 1 of the base year and then added to the base year figure. For example, to arrive at the April 1, 1992, voting age population, the difference between the April 1, 1990, census population and the April 1, 2000, census population is multiplied by 24/120ths (for the 24 out of 120 months between the census counts) and added to the April 1, 1990, figure.

The process for arriving at the CSAE November eligible figures is the same, except that the data are projected forward to November instead of April. To accomplish this, the multiplier is simply changed to the number of months that have passed since April of the base census year. For instance, to calculate the November 1996 voting age population, the difference between April 1, 1990, and April 1, 2000, is multiplied by 79/120ths and added to the April 1, 1990, count. The same interpolation process is applied to the decennial census counts of noncitizens of voting age in each state. Once estimates of the total voting age population and the non-citizen voting age population for each state have been calculated, the noncitizen figure is simply subtracted from the total to arrive at the appropriate figure.

Since the last decennial census occurred in 2000, it is necessary to project the figures forward to arrive at the voting age population for 2002 and 2004. To accomplish this, the difference between the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses is used to establish a rate of growth. This rate of growth is then used to project forward based on the number of months passed since April 1990 out of the 120 months between the censuses. For instance, to obtain the voting age population for April 2004, the difference between April 1, 1990, and April 1, 2000, is multiplied by 168/120 and added to the April 1, 1990, total.

**3. The votes** that are counted in this report for the 2008 general election are unofficial results from the several states that are compiled and distributed by the Associated Press as of 7 p.m. Wednesday, November 5, 2008. The comparisons in the charts are with the final, official, and certified votes for previous presidential elections (or more precisely the accurate and verified percentage of eligible citizens who voted—since raw vote comparisons are usually meaningless as the population grows each year). These comparisons are not without problems. By the evening after Election Day, the figures that have been counted and are available from the Western states of Alaska, California, Oregon, and Washington may be no more than 60 percent of the votes cast in these states and thus comparisons with previous years tend to yield—until the votes are fully counted sometimes as many as three weeks later—invalid comparisons. Because of this, these four states have been left off all charts in this report. Another problem is, of course, that the 2008 vote counts in this report are frozen in time but not in reality. A state on the bottom of a chart indicating that state had the largest or one of the largest declines in voting when compared to 2004 may still have sufficient votes yet to be counted that will move it up the charts. By and large, however, the further down on a chart of comparison a state is the less the likelihood that it can change from a decrease in turnout to an increase. Similarly, rankings can change as more votes are counted.



Two other items are worth mentioning. In most presidential elections, the voters tend to cast their votes for the top of the ticket, the presidential candidates. But often, in one state or another, heated competition or dissatisfaction with the standard bearer can lead citizens to cast more votes for major downticket offices. CSAE has provided a chart of total ballots cast in each state which can be compared to the presidential vote. In 2008, only one race—Senator Lindsey Graham’s successful re-election bid in South Carolina—drew more votes (13,000) than the presidential contest.

CSAE’s final vote estimate is more tentative this year than most years. Usually through experience CSAE was able to have a good idea of the number of ballots still to be counted when this preliminary report was issued and make a reliable prediction of ultimate turnout. This year, its prediction is considerably more tentative since many more states adopted early voting and easy absentee voting. There are some states, such as Nevada, which have completed processing their absentee votes before this report is issued. Some have processed early votes but not absentees. Until there’s some experience one can’t be certain that one has a handle on how many votes are still to be counted after Wednesday. Thus, CSAE, this year, chose to predict within a range rather than aim for a number. There were 121,500,000 votes counted as of this writing. CSAE feels reasonably confident that there are no less than five million and no more than seven million votes still to be counted. CSAE reserves the right to have egg on its face.

**4. Acknowledgments:** Primary research for this report was done by Matthew Mulling, CSAE research associate, who, along with former research associate Mark P. Harvey, is responsible for creating the denominator database for the analysis of November turnout. Organizing the analysis for this report was made profoundly easier by a custom database program developed by Samuel Schreiber, CSAE research associate emeritus. CSAE would also like to express its profound gratitude to Dr. Walter Dean Burnham, professor emeritus at the University of Texas at Austin, for sharing his database, helping to devise CSAE’s new November denominator for the analysis of registration and turnout, and for his continuing help to CSAE’s work. The committee is also grateful to all the state election officials for graciously yielding their registration and voting figures after an unconscionable amount of hounding by CSAE’s staff.

Most of all for this particular report CSAE would like to thank Brian Scanlon, Tracy Lewis, Donna Cassata and Alexandra Gassner for their help in arranging access to the figures AP diligently supplies every election year.

**5. Culpability:** The analysis contained in this report has been done by Curtis Gans, CSAE’s director, who is solely responsible for any and all errors contained within.

## Republican Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004

Ranked By Percent Point Difference

President - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	2008 % VAP Voted	2004 % VAP Voted	— -2008 - 2004 —	Point Diff / % Diff
AR	2,065,000	632,140	30.61	28.43	2.18 /	7.67
AL	3,394,000	1,263,741	37.23	35.19	2.04 /	5.80
TN	4,512,000	1,487,564	32.97	31.62	1.35 /	4.27
SC	3,224,000	1,008,727	31.29	30.24	1.05 /	3.47
NC	6,423,000	2,108,381	32.83	31.83	1.00 /	3.14
LA	3,338,000	1,147,603	34.38	33.62	0.76 /	2.26
MA	4,625,000	1,104,086	23.87	23.51	0.36 /	1.53
GA	6,302,000	2,022,409	32.09	31.76	0.33 /	1.04
MS	2,151,000	684,475	31.82	31.93	-0.11 /	-0.34
OK	2,561,000	959,645	37.47	37.97	-0.50 /	-1.32
MO	4,328,000	1,442,613	33.33	34.44	-1.11 /	-3.22
KY	3,147,000	1,050,599	33.38	34.67	-1.29 /	-3.72
DC	371,000	14,821	3.99	5.48	-1.49 /	-27.19
TX	14,886,000	4,467,748	30.01	31.90	-1.89 /	-5.92
WV	1,428,000	394,278	27.61	29.93	-2.32 /	-7.75
FL	12,923,000	3,908,736	30.25	32.70	-2.45 /	-7.49
PA	9,450,000	2,584,119	27.35	29.98	-2.63 /	-8.77
RI	790,000	152,197	19.27	21.93	-2.66 /	-12.13
VA	5,560,000	1,637,337	29.45	32.16	-2.71 /	-8.43
NJ	5,904,000	1,540,907	26.10	28.86	-2.76 /	-9.56
NV	1,642,000	411,988	25.09	27.91	-2.82 /	-10.10
KS	1,968,000	685,414	34.83	37.98	-3.15 /	-8.29
ID	1,024,000	400,989	39.16	42.32	-3.16 /	-7.47
WY	388,000	160,639	41.40	44.58	-3.18 /	-7.13
MN	3,824,000	1,275,653	33.36	36.55	-3.19 /	-8.73
NY	12,653,000	2,573,386	20.34	23.58	-3.24 /	-13.74
IN	4,586,000	1,341,101	29.24	32.81	-3.57 /	-10.88
IA	2,201,000	677,508	30.78	34.57	-3.79 /	-10.96
CT	2,518,000	606,268	24.08	28.14	-4.06 /	-14.43
NM	1,346,000	334,298	24.84	29.08	-4.24 /	-14.58
MI	7,490,000	2,044,405	27.30	31.60	-4.30 /	-13.61
DE	630,000	151,667	24.07	28.47	-4.40 /	-15.45
AZ	4,117,000	1,012,878	24.60	29.06	-4.46 /	-15.35
IL	8,540,000	1,975,801	23.14	27.72	-4.58 /	-16.52
MD	4,064,000	873,320	21.49	26.23	-4.74 /	-18.07
OH	8,562,000	2,469,544	28.84	33.81	-4.97 /	-14.70
NH	1,016,000	295,193	29.05	34.22	-5.17 /	-15.11
CO	3,219,000	966,957	30.04	35.32	-5.28 /	-14.95
MT	731,000	236,513	32.35	37.85	-5.50 /	-14.53
SD	573,000	203,002	35.43	41.39	-5.96 /	-14.40
VT	495,000	95,422	19.28	25.40	-6.12 /	-24.09
ND	485,000	168,523	34.75	40.88	-6.13 /	-15.00
NE	1,243,000	439,421	35.35	41.59	-6.24 /	-15.00
WI	4,183,000	1,258,181	30.08	36.40	-6.32 /	-17.36
ME	1,048,000	271,876	25.94	32.69	-6.75 /	-20.65
UT	1,578,000	555,497	35.20	43.93	-8.73 /	-19.87
HI	918,000	110,848	12.07	21.94	-9.87 /	-44.99



Total Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
 President - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008		2004		2000		1996		1992		1988	
		2008 Turnout	% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-04 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-00 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-96 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-92 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-88 Points
AL	3,394,000	2,091,143	61.61	56.34	5.27	50.74	10.87	48.34	13.27	55.73	5.88	47.26	14.35
AZ	4,117,000	1,886,811	45.83	52.96	-7.13	44.57	1.26	45.10	0.73	54.49	-8.66	48.42	-2.59
AR	2,065,000	1,075,428	52.08	52.35	-0.27	47.05	5.03	47.14	4.94	53.74	-1.66	48.75	3.33
CO	3,219,000	2,110,209	65.55	68.30	-2.75	57.91	7.64	54.13	11.42	62.64	2.91	57.69	7.86
CT	2,518,000	1,567,752	62.26	64.02	-1.76	60.61	1.65	57.83	4.43	66.90	-4.64	60.44	1.82
DE	630,000	403,631	64.07	62.22	1.85	57.36	6.71	49.83	14.24	56.81	7.26	51.95	12.12
DC	371,000	226,573	61.07	58.66	2.41	49.48	11.59	43.70	17.37	51.49	9.58	42.39	18.68
FL	12,923,000	8,072,686	62.47	62.77	-0.30	53.22	9.25	50.57	11.90	55.09	7.38	48.71	13.76
GA	6,302,000	3,862,027	61.28	54.72	6.56	45.41	15.87	43.01	18.27	47.58	13.70	40.24	21.04
HI	918,000	415,995	45.32	48.48	-3.16	43.44	1.88	44.08	1.24	47.74	-2.42	47.96	-2.64
ID	1,024,000	651,714	63.64	61.88	1.76	55.74	7.90	59.67	3.97	66.14	-2.50	60.68	2.96
IL	8,540,000	5,339,577	62.52	62.31	0.21	56.50	6.02	52.14	10.38	62.32	0.20	57.06	5.46
IN	4,586,000	2,737,551	59.69	54.74	4.95	49.75	9.94	49.76	9.93	55.89	3.80	54.09	5.60
IA	2,201,000	1,515,815	68.87	69.28	-0.41	61.27	7.60	58.51	10.36	65.73	3.14	59.96	8.91
KS	1,968,000	1,206,127	61.29	61.26	0.03	56.25	5.04	57.60	3.69	63.87	-2.58	56.14	5.15
KY	3,147,000	1,828,097	58.09	58.21	-0.12	51.25	6.84	47.74	10.35	53.76	4.33	49.22	8.87
LA	3,338,000	1,958,059	58.66	59.28	-0.62	55.06	3.60	57.23	1.43	59.61	-0.95	55.59	3.07
ME	1,048,000	674,670	64.38	73.34	-8.96	67.55	-3.17	64.32	0.06	74.10	-9.72	62.86	1.52
MD	4,064,000	2,312,316	56.90	61.04	-4.14	54.36	2.54	49.18	7.72	56.55	0.35	50.89	6.01
MA	4,625,000	3,047,312	65.89	63.77	2.12	60.35	5.54	57.51	8.38	62.87	3.02	60.72	5.17
MI	7,490,000	4,993,499	66.67	66.08	0.59	59.35	7.32	55.20	11.47	63.02	3.65	55.29	11.38
MN	3,824,000	2,901,017	75.86	76.75	-0.89	69.18	6.68	64.68	11.18	72.65	3.21	67.53	8.33
MS	2,151,000	1,212,506	56.37	54.10	2.27	48.36	8.01	45.28	11.09	52.59	3.78	51.90	4.47
MO	4,328,000	2,916,663	67.39	64.62	2.77	57.42	9.97	54.10	13.29	62.30	5.09	56.22	11.17
MT	731,000	472,014	64.57	64.07	0.50	61.25	3.32	64.14	0.43	69.36	-4.79	64.38	0.19
NE	1,243,000	767,057	61.71	63.11	-1.40	57.09	4.62	56.78	4.93	63.95	-2.24	58.38	3.33
NV	1,642,000	965,120	58.78	55.31	3.47	45.48	13.30	39.75	19.03	53.02	5.76	43.70	15.08
NH	1,016,000	662,456	65.20	70.01	-4.81	62.54	2.66	57.18	8.02	64.58	0.62	57.61	7.59
NJ	5,904,000	3,653,773	61.89	62.41	-0.52	56.32	5.57	54.93	6.96	60.43	1.46	57.06	4.83
NM	1,346,000	798,986	59.36	58.35	1.01	48.35	11.01	47.73	11.63	53.17	6.19	52.23	7.13
NY	12,653,000	7,011,244	55.41	58.83	-3.42	54.69	0.72	50.74	4.67	55.84	-0.43	52.66	2.75
NC	6,423,000	4,256,702	66.27	56.83	9.44	49.66	16.61	45.40	20.87	50.73	15.54	44.26	22.01
ND	485,000	315,987	65.15	65.04	0.11	60.56	4.59	56.68	8.47	66.55	-1.40	64.76	0.39
OH	8,562,000	5,227,180	61.05	66.54	-5.49	56.40	4.65	55.29	5.76	61.51	-0.46	55.69	5.36
OK	2,561,000	1,461,931	57.08	57.90	-0.82	49.55	7.53	49.86	7.22	59.88	-2.80	52.00	5.08
PA	9,450,000	5,830,312	61.70	61.88	-0.18	53.60	8.10	49.60	12.10	55.15	6.55	51.00	10.70
RI	790,000	434,411	54.99	56.70	-1.71	54.58	0.41	52.60	2.39	61.61	-6.62	56.04	-1.05
SC	3,224,000	1,876,073	58.19	52.15	6.04	46.71	11.48	40.99	17.20	45.74	12.45	39.85	18.34
SD	573,000	381,876	66.65	69.08	-2.43	57.82	8.83	61.21	5.44	66.58	0.07	63.62	3.03
TN	4,512,000	2,614,005	57.93	55.67	2.26	49.15	8.78	47.14	10.79	52.77	5.16	45.86	12.07
TX	14,886,000	8,045,310	54.05	52.23	1.82	47.80	6.25	44.36	9.69	52.44	1.61	49.47	4.58
UT	1,578,000	883,658	56.00	61.41	-5.41	53.71	2.29	50.85	5.15	65.03	-9.03	62.45	-6.45
VT	495,000	302,337	61.08	65.47	-4.39	64.54	-3.46	58.74	2.34	68.81	-7.73	60.38	0.70
VA	5,560,000	3,460,712	62.24	59.91	2.33	53.86	8.38	49.52	12.72	55.16	7.08	49.91	12.33
WV	1,428,000	707,702	49.56	53.40	-3.84	46.29	3.27	46.09	3.47	50.42	-0.86	48.36	1.20
WI	4,183,000	2,965,159	70.89	73.82	-2.93	66.31	4.58	57.98	12.91	69.75	1.14	62.46	8.43
WY	388,000	246,329	63.49	64.74	-1.25	60.32	3.17	61.32	2.17	61.72	1.77	55.87	7.62
Overall:													
	178,424,000	108,347,512	60.72	60.54	0.19	53.90	6.82	51.05	9.68	57.88	2.84	52.88	7.85

## Total Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 1984 - 1968

## President - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	2008 % VAP Voted	1984 % VAP Voted	+/-08-84 Points	1980 % VAP Voted	+/-08-80 Points	1976 % VAP Voted	+/-08-76 Points	1972 % VAP Voted	+/-08-72 Points	1968 % VAP Voted	+/-08-68 Points
AL	3,394,000	2,091,143	61.61	50.89	10.72	49.12	12.49	46.35	15.26	43.44	18.17	52.87	8.74
AZ	4,117,000	1,886,811	45.83	46.91	-1.08	45.95	-0.12	45.99	-0.16	49.17	-3.34	50.10	-4.27
AR	2,065,000	1,075,428	52.08	53.28	-1.20	51.89	0.19	51.34	0.74	48.75	3.33	54.15	-2.07
CO	3,219,000	2,110,209	65.55	56.25	9.30	57.55	8.00	59.13	6.42	62.18	3.37	65.05	0.50
CT	2,518,000	1,567,752	62.26	63.81	-1.55	63.63	-1.37	65.35	-3.09	69.35	-7.09	69.67	-7.41
DE	630,000	403,631	64.07	55.71	8.36	55.38	8.69	59.25	4.82	64.88	-0.81	69.15	-5.08
DC	371,000	226,573	61.07	45.54	15.53	37.13	23.94	34.60	26.47	32.36	28.71	36.06	25.01
FL	12,923,000	8,072,686	62.47	51.91	10.56	51.91	10.56	51.15	11.32	51.49	10.98	53.34	9.13
GA	6,302,000	3,862,027	61.28	42.32	18.96	41.67	19.61	41.86	19.42	37.69	23.59	44.09	17.19
HI	918,000	415,995	45.32	48.53	-3.21	47.69	-2.37	50.93	-5.61	54.82	-9.50	57.20	-11.88
ID	1,024,000	651,714	63.64	62.77	0.87	69.32	-5.68	60.58	3.06	64.00	-0.36	72.43	-8.79
IL	8,540,000	5,339,577	62.52	60.79	1.73	60.50	2.02	61.98	0.54	64.76	-2.24	69.59	-7.07
IN	4,586,000	2,737,551	59.69	56.72	2.97	58.23	1.46	60.47	-0.78	61.79	-2.10	70.46	-10.77
IA	2,201,000	1,515,815	68.87	64.22	4.65	63.66	5.21	64.09	4.78	64.83	4.04	69.07	-0.20
KS	1,968,000	1,206,127	61.29	58.77	2.52	57.60	3.69	58.80	2.49	59.64	1.65	64.13	-2.84
KY	3,147,000	1,828,097	58.09	51.95	6.14	50.30	7.79	48.37	9.72	48.52	9.57	51.21	6.88
LA	3,338,000	1,958,059	58.66	59.02	-0.36	54.39	4.27	48.32	10.34	44.35	14.31	54.95	3.71
ME	1,048,000	674,670	64.38	65.46	-1.08	65.62	-1.24	65.30	-0.92	62.34	2.04	66.60	-2.22
MD	4,064,000	2,312,316	56.90	52.34	4.56	51.37	5.53	51.11	5.79	52.07	4.83	54.99	1.91
MA	4,625,000	3,047,312	65.89	60.53	5.36	61.63	4.26	64.46	1.43	65.15	0.74	67.90	-2.01
MI	7,490,000	4,993,499	66.67	58.23	8.44	61.10	5.57	59.90	6.77	61.17	5.50	65.84	0.83
MN	3,824,000	2,901,017	75.86	69.32	6.54	71.08	4.78	71.72	4.14	69.50	6.36	73.03	2.83
MS	2,151,000	1,212,506	56.37	53.69	2.68	52.41	3.96	48.39	7.98	44.86	11.51	53.26	3.11
MO	4,328,000	2,916,663	67.39	58.29	9.10	59.30	8.09	57.63	9.76	58.05	9.34	63.67	3.72
MT	731,000	472,014	64.57	68.52	-3.95	65.93	-1.36	63.83	0.74	68.30	-3.73	68.43	-3.86
NE	1,243,000	767,057	61.71	57.96	3.75	57.48	4.23	56.95	4.76	57.57	4.14	60.59	1.12
NV	1,642,000	965,120	58.78	40.89	17.89	42.89	15.89	42.06	16.72	49.66	9.12	56.28	2.50
NH	1,016,000	662,456	65.20	53.42	11.78	58.18	7.02	57.27	7.93	65.25	-0.05	69.46	-4.26
NJ	5,904,000	3,653,773	61.89	60.74	1.15	57.97	3.92	60.89	1.00	63.45	-1.56	66.50	-4.61
NM	1,346,000	798,986	59.36	54.60	4.76	52.23	7.13	53.64	5.72	58.70	0.66	60.17	-0.81
NY	12,653,000	7,011,244	55.41	55.88	-0.47	51.60	3.81	54.68	0.73	60.31	-4.90	60.13	-4.72
NC	6,423,000	4,256,702	66.27	47.71	18.56	43.78	22.49	42.97	23.30	43.38	22.89	54.37	11.90
ND	485,000	315,987	65.15	67.46	-2.31	65.84	-0.69	68.16	-3.01	69.26	-4.11	69.83	-4.68
OH	8,562,000	5,227,180	61.05	58.68	2.37	56.08	4.97	55.83	5.22	58.44	2.61	63.40	-2.35
OK	2,561,000	1,461,931	57.08	56.87	0.21	53.43	3.65	54.48	2.60	56.96	0.12	60.77	-3.69
PA	9,450,000	5,830,312	61.70	55.14	6.56	52.72	8.98	55.12	6.58	57.20	4.50	65.14	-3.44
RI	790,000	434,411	54.99	58.47	-3.48	61.46	-6.47	62.30	-7.31	64.97	-9.98	66.61	-11.62
SC	3,224,000	1,876,073	58.19	41.32	16.87	40.90	17.29	40.33	17.86	38.62	19.57	46.67	11.52
SD	573,000	381,876	66.65	65.14	1.51	67.85	-1.20	64.94	1.71	70.35	-3.70	72.87	-6.22
TN	4,512,000	2,614,005	57.93	49.71	8.22	49.09	8.84	48.39	9.54	43.87	14.06	53.70	4.23
TX	14,886,000	8,045,310	54.05	52.11	1.94	47.27	6.78	46.76	7.29	45.76	8.29	48.46	5.59
UT	1,578,000	883,658	56.00	64.25	-8.25	66.25	-10.25	66.57	-10.57	69.85	-13.85	76.97	-20.97
VT	495,000	302,337	61.08	60.92	0.16	58.76	2.32	56.22	4.86	62.73	-1.65	63.54	-2.46
VA	5,560,000	3,460,712	62.24	51.80	10.44	48.58	13.66	47.82	14.42	45.56	16.68	50.44	11.80
WV	1,428,000	707,702	49.56	53.90	-4.34	53.42	-3.86	57.33	-7.77	63.11	-13.55	70.42	-20.86
WI	4,183,000	2,965,159	70.89	64.54	6.35	68.35	2.54	66.82	4.07	63.52	7.37	66.52	4.37
WY	388,000	246,329	63.49	59.42	4.07	55.22	8.27	55.05	8.44	62.21	1.28	65.57	-2.08
Overall:	178,424,000	108,347,512	60.72	55.65	5.07	54.47	6.25	54.89	5.84	56.14	4.59	60.78	-0.06

## Total Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988

## President - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	2008	2004		2000		1996		1992		1988	
			% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-04 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-00 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-96 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-92 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-88 Points
AL	3,394,000	2,091,143	61.61	56.34	5.27	50.74	10.87	48.34	13.27	55.73	5.88	47.26	14.35
AK	476,000	221,678	46.57	69.01	-22.44	67.19	-20.62	59.66	-13.09	68.03	-21.46	57.18	-10.61
AZ	4,117,000	1,886,811	45.83	52.96	-7.13	44.57	1.26	45.10	0.73	54.49	-8.66	48.42	-2.59
AR	2,065,000	1,075,428	52.08	52.35	-0.27	47.05	5.03	47.14	4.94	53.74	-1.66	48.75	3.33
CA	22,319,000	10,104,792	45.27	58.29	-13.02	54.41	-9.14	51.49	-6.22	59.59	-14.32	55.58	-10.31
CO	3,219,000	2,110,209	65.55	68.30	-2.75	57.91	7.64	54.13	11.42	62.64	2.91	57.69	7.86
CT	2,518,000	1,567,752	62.26	64.02	-1.76	60.61	1.65	57.83	4.43	66.90	-4.64	60.44	1.82
DE	630,000	403,631	64.07	62.22	1.85	57.36	6.71	49.83	14.24	56.81	7.26	51.95	12.12
DC	371,000	226,573	61.07	58.66	2.41	49.48	11.59	43.70	17.37	51.49	9.58	42.39	18.68
FL	12,923,000	8,056,877	62.35	62.77	-0.42	53.22	9.13	50.57	11.78	55.09	7.26	48.71	13.64
GA	6,302,000	3,862,027	61.28	54.72	6.56	45.41	15.87	43.01	18.27	47.58	13.70	40.24	21.04
HI	918,000	415,995	45.32	48.48	-3.16	43.44	1.88	44.08	1.24	47.74	-2.42	47.96	-2.64
ID	1,024,000	653,313	63.80	61.88	1.92	55.74	8.06	59.67	4.13	66.14	-2.34	60.68	3.12
IL	8,540,000	5,339,577	62.52	62.31	0.21	56.50	6.02	52.14	10.38	62.32	0.20	57.06	5.46
IN	4,586,000	2,737,551	59.69	54.74	4.95	49.75	9.94	49.76	9.93	55.89	3.80	54.09	5.60
IA	2,201,000	1,515,815	68.87	69.28	-0.41	61.27	7.60	58.51	10.36	65.73	3.14	59.96	8.91
KS	1,968,000	1,206,127	61.29	61.26	0.03	56.25	5.04	57.60	3.69	63.87	-2.58	56.14	5.15
KY	3,147,000	1,828,097	58.09	58.21	-0.12	51.25	6.84	47.74	10.35	53.76	4.33	49.22	8.87
LA	3,338,000	1,958,059	58.66	59.28	-0.62	55.06	3.60	57.23	1.43	59.61	-0.95	55.59	3.07
ME	1,048,000	674,670	64.38	73.34	-8.96	67.55	-3.17	64.32	0.06	74.10	-9.72	62.86	1.52
MD	4,064,000	2,312,316	56.90	61.04	-4.14	54.36	2.54	49.18	7.72	56.55	0.35	50.89	6.01
MA	4,625,000	3,043,312	65.80	63.77	2.03	60.35	5.45	57.51	8.29	62.87	2.93	60.72	5.08
MI	7,490,000	4,993,499	66.67	66.08	0.59	59.35	7.32	55.20	11.47	63.02	3.65	55.29	11.38
MN	3,824,000	2,901,017	75.86	76.75	-0.89	69.18	6.68	64.68	11.18	72.65	3.21	67.53	8.33
MS	2,151,000	1,212,506	56.37	54.10	2.27	48.36	8.01	45.28	11.09	52.59	3.78	51.90	4.47
MO	4,328,000	2,916,663	67.39	64.62	2.77	57.42	9.97	54.10	13.29	62.30	5.09	56.22	11.17
MT	731,000	472,014	64.57	64.07	0.50	61.25	3.32	64.14	0.43	69.36	-4.79	64.38	0.19
NE	1,243,000	767,057	61.71	63.11	-1.40	57.09	4.62	56.78	4.93	63.95	-2.24	58.38	3.33
NV	1,642,000	965,120	58.78	55.31	3.47	45.48	13.30	39.75	19.03	53.02	5.76	43.70	15.08
NH	1,016,000	652,470	64.22	70.01	-5.79	62.54	1.68	57.18	7.04	64.58	-0.36	57.61	6.61
NJ	5,904,000	3,653,773	61.89	62.41	-0.52	56.32	5.57	54.93	6.96	60.43	1.46	57.06	4.83
NM	1,346,000	795,414	59.09	58.35	0.74	48.35	10.74	47.73	11.36	53.17	5.92	52.23	6.86
NY	12,653,000	7,011,244	55.41	58.83	-3.42	54.69	0.72	50.74	4.67	55.84	-0.43	52.66	2.75
NC	6,423,000	4,243,959	66.07	56.83	9.24	49.66	16.41	45.40	20.67	50.73	15.34	44.26	21.81
ND	485,000	315,987	65.15	65.04	0.11	60.56	4.59	56.68	8.47	66.55	-1.40	64.76	0.39
OH	8,562,000	5,212,344	60.88	66.54	-5.66	56.40	4.48	55.29	5.59	61.51	-0.63	55.69	5.19
OK	2,561,000	1,461,931	57.08	57.90	-0.82	49.55	7.53	49.86	7.22	59.88	-2.80	52.00	5.08
OR	2,615,000	1,253,793	47.95	72.66	-24.71	63.18	-15.23	59.98	-12.03	68.73	-20.78	59.58	-11.63
PA	9,450,000	5,830,312	61.70	61.88	-0.18	53.60	8.10	49.60	12.10	55.15	6.55	51.00	10.70
RI	790,000	434,411	54.99	56.70	-1.71	54.58	0.41	52.60	2.39	61.61	-6.62	56.04	-1.05
SC	3,224,000	1,876,073	58.19	52.15	6.04	46.71	11.48	40.99	17.20	45.74	12.45	39.85	18.34
SD	573,000	381,872	66.64	69.08	-2.44	57.82	8.82	61.21	5.43	66.58	0.06	63.62	3.02
TN	4,512,000	2,614,005	57.93	55.67	2.26	49.15	8.78	47.14	10.79	52.77	5.16	45.86	12.07
TX	14,886,000	8,045,310	54.05	52.23	1.82	47.80	6.25	44.36	9.69	52.44	1.61	49.47	4.58
UT	1,578,000	883,658	56.00	61.41	-5.41	53.71	2.29	50.85	5.15	65.03	-9.03	62.45	-6.45
VT	495,000	302,337	61.08	65.47	-4.39	64.54	-3.46	58.74	2.34	68.81	-7.73	60.38	0.70
VA	5,560,000	3,460,712	62.24	59.91	2.33	53.86	8.38	49.52	12.72	55.16	7.08	49.91	12.33
WA	4,489,000	1,679,170	37.41	66.29	-28.88	60.46	-23.05	58.01	-20.60	63.61	-26.20	55.51	-18.10
WV	1,428,000	707,702	49.56	53.40	-3.84	46.29	3.27	46.09	3.47	50.42	-0.86	48.36	1.20
WI	4,183,000	2,921,490	69.84	73.82	-3.98	66.31	3.53	57.98	11.86	69.75	0.09	62.46	7.38
WY	388,000	246,329	63.49	64.74	-1.25	60.32	3.17	61.32	2.17	61.72	1.77	55.87	7.62

Overall:  
208,323,000 121,503,925 58.32 60.59 -2.27 54.24 4.09 51.37 6.96 58.32 0.00 53.30 5.03

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## Ranked Order - 2008

Total President - General Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen

	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	2008 % VAP Voted
1) MN	3,824,000	2,901,017	75.86%
2) WI	4,183,000	2,965,159	70.89%
3) IA	2,201,000	1,515,815	68.87%
4) MO	4,328,000	2,916,663	67.39%
5) MI	7,490,000	4,993,499	66.67%
6) SD	573,000	381,876	66.65%
7) NC	6,423,000	4,256,702	66.27%
8) MA	4,625,000	3,047,312	65.89%
9) CO	3,219,000	2,110,209	65.55%
10) NH	1,016,000	662,456	65.20%
11) ND	485,000	315,987	65.15%
12) MT	731,000	472,014	64.57%
13) ME	1,048,000	674,670	64.38%
14) DE	630,000	403,631	64.07%
15) ID	1,024,000	651,714	63.64%
16) WY	388,000	246,329	63.49%
17) IL	8,540,000	5,339,577	62.52%
18) FL	12,923,000	8,072,686	62.47%
19) CT	2,518,000	1,567,752	62.26%
20) VA	5,560,000	3,460,712	62.24%
21) NJ	5,904,000	3,653,773	61.89%
22) NE	1,243,000	767,057	61.71%
23) PA	9,450,000	5,830,312	61.70%
24) AL	3,394,000	2,091,143	61.61%
25) KS	1,968,000	1,206,127	61.29%
26) GA	6,302,000	3,862,027	61.28%
27) VT	495,000	302,337	61.08%
28) DC	371,000	226,573	61.07%
29) OH	8,562,000	5,227,180	61.05%
30) IN	4,586,000	2,737,551	59.69%
31) NM	1,346,000	798,986	59.36%
32) NV	1,642,000	965,120	58.78%
33) LA	3,338,000	1,958,059	58.66%
34) SC	3,224,000	1,876,073	58.19%
35) KY	3,147,000	1,828,097	58.09%
36) TN	4,512,000	2,614,005	57.93%
37) OK	2,561,000	1,461,931	57.08%
38) MD	4,064,000	2,312,316	56.90%
39) MS	2,151,000	1,212,506	56.37%
40) UT	1,578,000	883,658	56.00%
41) NY	12,653,000	7,011,244	55.41%
42) RI	790,000	434,411	54.99%
43) TX	14,886,000	8,045,310	54.05%
44) AR	2,065,000	1,075,428	52.08%
45) WV	1,428,000	707,702	49.56%
46) AZ	4,117,000	1,886,811	45.83%
47) HI	918,000	415,995	45.32%

## Total Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Burnham 2008 vs 2004

Ranked By Percent Point Difference

President - General Races

			2008	2004	— -2008 - 2004 —	
ST	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	Point Diff /	% Diff
NC	6,423,000	4,256,702	66.27	57.21	9.06 /	15.84
GA	6,302,000	3,862,027	61.28	55.10	6.18 /	11.22
SC	3,224,000	1,876,073	58.19	52.49	5.70 /	10.86
AL	3,394,000	2,091,143	61.61	56.47	5.14 /	9.10
IN	4,586,000	2,737,551	59.69	54.88	4.81 /	8.76
DC	371,000	226,573	61.07	58.21	2.86 /	4.91
NV	1,642,000	965,120	58.78	56.09	2.69 /	4.80
MO	4,328,000	2,916,663	67.39	64.88	2.51 /	3.87
MS	2,151,000	1,212,506	56.37	54.28	2.09 /	3.85
TN	4,512,000	2,614,005	57.93	55.94	1.99 /	3.56
MA	4,625,000	3,047,312	65.89	63.90	1.99 /	3.11
VA	5,560,000	3,460,712	62.24	60.30	1.94 /	3.22
TX	14,886,000	8,045,310	54.05	52.61	1.44 /	2.74
DE	630,000	403,631	64.07	62.74	1.33 /	2.12
ID	1,024,000	651,714	63.64	62.53	1.11 /	1.78
NM	1,346,000	798,986	59.36	58.71	0.65 /	1.11
MI	7,490,000	4,993,499	66.67	66.33	0.34 /	0.51
IL	8,540,000	5,339,577	62.52	62.35	0.17 /	0.27
ND	485,000	315,987	65.15	65.04	0.11 /	0.17
MT	731,000	472,014	64.57	64.53	0.04 /	0.06
KS	1,968,000	1,206,127	61.29	61.38	-0.09 /	-0.15
KY	3,147,000	1,828,097	58.09	58.40	-0.31 /	-0.53
PA	9,450,000	5,830,312	61.70	62.02	-0.32 /	-0.52
AR	2,065,000	1,075,428	52.08	52.54	-0.46 /	-0.88
IA	2,201,000	1,515,815	68.87	69.41	-0.54 /	-0.78
NJ	5,904,000	3,653,773	61.89	62.58	-0.69 /	-1.10
LA	3,338,000	1,958,059	58.66	59.48	-0.82 /	-1.38
OK	2,561,000	1,461,931	57.08	58.02	-0.94 /	-1.62
FL	12,923,000	8,072,686	62.47	63.44	-0.97 /	-1.53
MN	3,824,000	2,901,017	75.86	77.21	-1.35 /	-1.75
NE	1,243,000	767,057	61.71	63.22	-1.51 /	-2.39
WY	388,000	246,329	63.49	65.09	-1.60 /	-2.46
RI	790,000	434,411	54.99	56.92	-1.93 /	-3.39
CT	2,518,000	1,567,752	62.26	64.23	-1.97 /	-3.07
SD	573,000	381,876	66.65	69.32	-2.67 /	-3.85
CO	3,219,000	2,110,209	65.55	68.61	-3.06 /	-4.46
WI	4,183,000	2,965,159	70.89	74.19	-3.30 /	-4.45
NY	12,653,000	7,011,244	55.41	58.86	-3.45 /	-5.86
HI	918,000	415,995	45.32	48.81	-3.49 /	-7.15
WV	1,428,000	707,702	49.56	53.48	-3.92 /	-7.33
MD	4,064,000	2,312,316	56.90	61.45	-4.55 /	-7.40
VT	495,000	302,337	61.08	65.89	-4.81 /	-7.30
NH	1,016,000	662,456	65.20	70.59	-5.39 /	-7.64
OH	8,562,000	5,227,180	61.05	66.67	-5.62 /	-8.43
UT	1,578,000	883,658	56.00	61.82	-5.82 /	-9.41
AZ	4,117,000	1,886,811	45.83	53.67	-7.84 /	-14.61
ME	1,048,000	674,670	64.38	73.85	-9.47 /	-12.82

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## Democratic Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988

## President - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008		2004		2000		1996		1992		1988	
		2008 % VAP	2008 % VAP	% VAP	+/-08-04	% VAP	+/-08-00	% VAP	+/-08-96	% VAP	+/-08-92	% VAP	+/-08-88
		Turnout	Voted	Voted	Points	Voted	Points	Voted	Points	Voted	Points	Voted	Points
AL	3,394,000	811,510	23.91	20.76	3.15	21.09	2.82	20.86	3.05	22.78	1.13	18.84	5.07
AZ	4,117,000	851,589	20.68	23.51	-2.83	19.94	0.74	20.98	-0.30	19.90	0.78	18.76	1.92
AR	2,065,000	417,314	20.21	23.32	-3.11	21.58	-1.37	25.33	-5.12	28.59	-8.38	20.57	-0.36
CO	3,219,000	1,109,328	34.46	32.13	2.33	24.55	9.91	24.05	10.41	25.14	9.32	26.12	8.34
CT	2,518,000	943,819	37.48	34.77	2.71	33.89	3.59	30.55	6.93	28.24	9.24	28.33	9.15
DE	630,000	247,386	39.27	33.19	6.08	31.54	7.73	25.80	13.47	24.72	14.55	22.59	16.68
DC	371,000	210,403	56.71	52.31	4.40	42.14	14.57	37.23	19.48	43.58	13.13	35.03	21.68
FL	12,923,000	4,103,638	31.75	29.56	2.19	25.99	5.76	24.29	7.46	21.49	10.26	18.76	12.99
GA	6,302,000	1,811,198	28.74	22.66	6.08	19.52	9.22	19.72	9.02	20.68	8.06	15.89	12.85
HI	918,000	298,621	32.53	26.18	6.35	24.24	8.29	25.09	7.44	22.96	9.57	26.03	6.50
ID	1,024,000	235,219	22.97	18.73	4.24	15.40	7.57	20.08	2.89	18.79	4.18	21.85	1.12
IL	8,540,000	3,293,340	38.56	34.16	4.40	30.85	7.71	28.32	10.24	30.28	8.28	27.73	10.83
IN	4,586,000	1,367,264	29.81	21.49	8.32	20.40	9.41	20.68	9.13	20.56	9.25	21.47	8.34
IA	2,201,000	818,240	37.18	34.11	3.07	29.74	7.44	29.41	7.77	28.45	8.73	32.81	4.37
KS	1,968,000	499,863	25.40	22.43	2.97	20.95	4.45	20.79	4.61	21.55	3.85	23.89	1.51
KY	3,147,000	751,515	23.88	23.10	0.78	21.20	2.68	21.88	2.00	23.95	-0.07	21.60	2.28
LA	3,338,000	780,981	23.40	25.02	-1.62	24.71	-1.31	29.77	-6.37	27.17	-3.77	24.50	-1.10
ME	1,048,000	390,147	37.23	39.29	-2.06	33.16	4.07	33.20	4.03	28.73	8.50	27.58	9.65
MD	4,064,000	1,409,150	34.67	34.17	0.50	30.73	3.94	26.68	7.99	28.16	6.51	24.53	10.14
MA	4,625,000	1,890,183	40.87	39.59	1.28	36.09	4.78	35.35	5.52	29.89	10.98	32.32	8.55
MI	7,490,000	2,867,680	38.29	33.85	4.44	30.44	7.85	28.54	9.75	27.59	10.70	25.25	13.04
MN	3,824,000	1,573,246	41.14	39.21	1.93	33.14	8.00	33.05	8.09	31.59	9.55	35.73	5.41
MS	2,151,000	517,899	24.08	21.73	2.35	19.68	4.40	19.96	4.12	21.44	2.64	20.27	3.81
MO	4,328,000	1,436,745	33.20	29.79	3.41	27.03	6.17	25.72	7.48	27.45	5.75	26.90	6.30
MT	731,000	220,401	30.15	24.71	5.44	20.44	9.71	26.44	3.71	26.10	4.05	29.74	0.41
NE	1,243,000	315,913	25.42	20.63	4.79	18.98	6.44	19.85	5.57	18.80	6.62	22.88	2.54
NV	1,642,000	531,884	32.39	26.48	5.91	20.91	11.48	17.46	14.93	19.81	12.58	16.57	15.82
NH	1,016,000	361,638	35.59	35.18	0.41	29.27	6.32	28.20	7.39	25.09	10.50	20.91	14.68
NJ	5,904,000	2,073,934	35.13	33.03	2.10	31.61	3.52	29.51	5.62	25.95	9.18	24.31	10.82
NM	1,346,000	454,291	33.75	28.62	5.13	23.17	10.58	23.48	10.27	24.40	9.35	24.50	9.25
NY	12,653,000	4,357,360	34.44	34.34	0.10	32.93	1.51	30.18	4.26	27.77	6.67	27.19	7.25
NC	6,423,000	2,122,977	33.05	24.77	8.28	21.45	11.60	19.99	13.06	21.64	11.41	18.46	14.59
ND	485,000	141,113	29.10	23.09	6.01	20.02	9.08	22.75	6.35	21.42	7.68	27.83	1.27
OH	8,562,000	2,673,958	31.23	32.41	-1.18	26.19	5.04	26.19	5.04	24.72	6.51	24.58	6.65
OK	2,561,000	502,286	19.61	19.94	-0.33	19.04	0.57	20.17	-0.56	20.37	-0.76	21.47	-1.86
PA	9,450,000	3,184,807	33.70	31.53	2.17	27.12	6.58	24.39	9.31	24.89	8.81	24.68	9.02
RI	790,000	275,028	34.81	33.69	1.12	33.31	1.50	31.41	3.40	28.98	5.83	31.18	3.63
SC	3,224,000	842,441	26.13	21.33	4.80	19.11	7.02	18.02	8.11	18.24	7.89	14.98	11.15
SD	573,000	170,877	29.82	26.56	3.26	21.72	8.10	26.34	3.48	24.73	5.09	29.59	0.23
TN	4,512,000	1,093,213	24.23	23.67	0.56	23.24	0.99	22.63	1.60	24.85	-0.62	19.05	5.18
TX	14,886,000	3,521,164	23.65	19.96	3.69	18.16	5.49	19.44	4.21	19.44	4.21	21.44	2.21
UT	1,578,000	301,771	19.12	15.96	3.16	14.15	4.97	16.93	2.19	16.03	3.09	20.01	-0.89
VT	495,000	201,999	40.81	38.59	2.22	32.68	8.13	31.34	9.47	31.73	9.08	28.73	12.08
VA	5,560,000	1,792,502	32.24	27.25	4.99	23.93	8.31	22.36	9.88	22.39	9.85	19.58	12.66
WV	1,428,000	301,438	21.11	23.08	-1.97	21.11	0.00	23.74	-2.63	24.41	-3.30	25.24	-4.13
WI	4,183,000	1,670,258	39.93	36.68	3.25	31.72	8.21	28.30	11.63	28.69	11.24	32.11	7.82
WY	388,000	80,496	20.75	18.82	1.93	16.71	4.04	22.59	-1.84	20.97	-0.22	21.24	-0.49
Overall:	178,424,000	55,828,027	31.29	28.71	2.58	25.77	5.52	25.05	6.24	24.70	6.59	23.92	7.37

## Democratic Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 1984 - 1968

## President - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008		1984		1980		1976		1972		1968	
		2008 Turnout	% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-84 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-80 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-76 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-72 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-68 Points
AL	3,394,000	811,510	23.91	19.48	4.43	23.31	0.60	25.83	-1.92	11.09	12.82	9.90	14.01
AZ	4,117,000	851,589	20.68	15.27	5.41	12.98	7.70	18.30	2.38	15.67	5.01	17.54	3.14
AR	2,065,000	417,314	20.21	20.40	-0.19	24.66	-4.45	33.35	-13.14	14.96	5.25	16.44	3.77
CO	3,219,000	1,109,328	34.46	19.76	14.70	17.88	16.58	25.17	9.29	21.51	12.95	26.88	7.58
CT	2,518,000	943,819	37.48	24.78	12.70	24.51	12.97	30.65	6.83	27.83	9.65	34.47	3.01
DE	630,000	247,386	39.27	22.24	17.03	24.82	14.45	30.80	8.47	25.42	13.85	28.77	10.50
DC	371,000	210,403	56.71	38.88	17.83	27.78	28.93	28.24	28.47	25.27	31.44	29.51	27.20
FL	12,923,000	4,103,638	31.75	17.99	13.76	19.99	11.76	26.56	5.19	14.31	17.44	16.50	15.25
GA	6,302,000	1,811,198	28.74	16.84	11.90	23.24	5.50	27.94	0.80	9.29	19.45	11.79	16.95
HI	918,000	298,621	32.53	21.27	11.26	21.36	11.17	25.76	6.77	20.57	11.96	34.22	-1.69
ID	1,024,000	235,219	22.97	16.57	6.40	17.46	5.51	22.28	0.69	16.67	6.30	22.21	0.76
IL	8,540,000	3,293,340	38.56	26.32	12.24	25.24	13.32	29.83	8.73	26.24	12.32	30.72	7.84
IN	4,586,000	1,367,264	29.81	21.37	8.44	21.93	7.88	27.63	2.18	20.60	9.21	26.76	3.05
IA	2,201,000	818,240	37.18	29.47	7.71	24.57	12.61	31.06	6.12	26.24	10.94	28.19	8.99
KS	1,968,000	499,863	25.40	19.16	6.24	19.17	6.23	26.42	-1.02	17.60	7.80	22.26	3.14
KY	3,147,000	751,515	23.88	20.47	3.41	23.95	-0.07	25.52	-1.64	16.87	7.01	19.28	4.60
LA	3,338,000	780,981	23.40	22.53	0.87	24.88	-1.48	24.99	-1.59	12.57	10.83	15.50	7.90
ME	1,048,000	390,147	37.23	25.39	11.84	27.73	9.50	31.39	5.84	24.00	13.23	36.83	0.40
MD	4,064,000	1,409,150	34.67	24.61	10.06	24.21	10.46	26.97	7.70	19.45	15.22	23.97	10.70
MA	4,625,000	1,890,183	40.87	29.32	11.55	25.73	15.14	36.17	4.70	35.31	5.56	42.78	-1.91
MI	7,490,000	2,867,680	38.29	23.43	14.86	25.97	12.32	27.81	10.48	25.58	12.71	31.72	6.57
MN	3,824,000	1,573,246	41.14	34.47	6.67	33.05	8.09	39.37	1.77	32.02	9.12	39.44	1.70
MS	2,151,000	517,899	24.08	20.09	3.99	25.21	-1.13	23.98	0.10	8.80	15.28	12.26	11.82
MO	4,328,000	1,436,745	33.20	23.30	9.90	26.30	6.90	29.45	3.75	21.81	11.39	27.85	5.35
MT	731,000	220,401	30.15	26.16	3.99	21.38	8.77	28.98	1.17	25.85	4.30	28.46	1.69
NE	1,243,000	315,913	25.42	16.70	8.72	14.96	10.46	21.90	3.52	16.98	8.44	19.28	6.14
NV	1,642,000	531,884	32.39	13.07	19.32	11.53	20.86	19.27	13.12	18.04	14.35	22.12	10.27
NH	1,016,000	361,638	35.59	16.53	19.06	16.49	19.10	24.90	10.69	22.74	12.85	30.51	5.08
NJ	5,904,000	2,073,934	35.13	23.81	11.32	22.35	12.78	29.18	5.95	23.33	11.80	29.24	5.89
NM	1,346,000	454,291	33.75	21.42	12.33	19.18	14.57	25.79	7.96	21.44	12.31	23.91	9.84
NY	12,653,000	4,357,360	34.44	25.61	8.83	22.70	11.74	28.37	6.07	24.84	9.60	29.91	4.53
NC	6,423,000	2,122,977	33.05	18.08	14.97	20.66	12.39	23.74	9.31	12.53	20.52	15.89	17.16
ND	485,000	141,113	29.10	22.80	6.30	17.29	11.81	31.21	-2.11	24.79	4.31	26.70	2.40
OH	8,562,000	2,673,958	31.23	23.48	7.75	22.94	8.29	27.31	3.92	22.25	8.98	27.23	4.00
OK	2,561,000	502,286	19.61	17.44	2.17	18.68	0.93	26.56	-6.95	13.67	5.94	19.44	0.17
PA	9,450,000	3,184,807	33.70	25.36	8.34	22.39	11.31	27.78	5.92	22.38	11.32	31.00	2.70
RI	790,000	275,028	34.81	28.08	6.73	29.30	5.51	34.49	0.32	30.41	4.40	42.65	-7.84
SC	3,224,000	842,441	26.13	14.70	11.43	19.69	6.44	22.65	3.48	10.71	15.42	13.82	12.31
SD	573,000	170,877	29.82	23.79	6.03	21.50	8.32	31.76	-1.94	32.02	-2.20	30.58	-0.76
TN	4,512,000	1,093,213	24.23	20.67	3.56	23.76	0.47	27.07	-2.84	13.05	11.18	15.11	9.12
TX	14,886,000	3,521,164	23.65	18.82	4.83	19.58	4.07	23.91	-0.26	15.22	8.43	19.94	3.71
UT	1,578,000	301,771	19.12	15.85	3.27	13.63	5.49	22.40	-3.28	18.44	0.68	28.54	-9.42
VT	495,000	201,999	40.81	24.86	15.95	22.58	18.23	24.24	16.57	22.88	17.93	27.66	13.15
VA	5,560,000	1,792,502	32.24	19.21	13.03	19.58	12.66	22.93	9.31	13.72	18.52	16.39	15.85
WV	1,428,000	301,438	21.11	24.04	-2.93	26.61	-5.50	33.28	-12.17	22.97	-1.86	34.93	-13.82
WI	4,183,000	1,670,258	39.93	29.06	10.87	29.51	10.42	33.03	6.90	27.77	12.16	29.45	10.48
WY	388,000	80,496	20.75	16.78	3.97	15.45	5.30	21.92	-1.17	18.96	1.79	23.29	-2.54
Overall:													
	178,424,000	55,828,027	31.29	22.48	8.81	22.75	8.54	27.71	3.58	20.74	10.55	25.76	5.53

## Ranked Order - 2008

## Democratic President - General Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen

	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	2008 % VAP Voted
1) DC	371,000	210,403	56.71%
2) MN	3,824,000	1,573,246	41.14%
3) MA	4,625,000	1,890,183	40.87%
4) VT	495,000	201,999	40.81%
5) WI	4,183,000	1,670,258	39.93%
6) DE	630,000	247,386	39.27%
7) IL	8,540,000	3,293,340	38.56%
8) MI	7,490,000	2,867,680	38.29%
9) CT	2,518,000	943,819	37.48%
10) ME	1,048,000	390,147	37.23%
11) IA	2,201,000	818,240	37.18%
12) NH	1,016,000	361,638	35.59%
13) NJ	5,904,000	2,073,934	35.13%
14) RI	790,000	275,028	34.81%
15) MD	4,064,000	1,409,150	34.67%
16) CO	3,219,000	1,109,328	34.46%
17) NY	12,653,000	4,357,360	34.44%
18) NM	1,346,000	454,291	33.75%
19) PA	9,450,000	3,184,807	33.70%
20) MO	4,328,000	1,436,745	33.20%
21) NC	6,423,000	2,122,977	33.05%
22) HI	918,000	298,621	32.53%
23) NV	1,642,000	531,884	32.39%
24) VA	5,560,000	1,792,502	32.24%
25) FL	12,923,000	4,103,638	31.75%
26) OH	8,562,000	2,673,958	31.23%
27) MT	731,000	220,401	30.15%
28) SD	573,000	170,877	29.82%
29) IN	4,586,000	1,367,264	29.81%
30) ND	485,000	141,113	29.10%
31) GA	6,302,000	1,811,198	28.74%
32) SC	3,224,000	842,441	26.13%
33) NE	1,243,000	315,913	25.42%
34) KS	1,968,000	499,863	25.40%
35) TN	4,512,000	1,093,213	24.23%
36) MS	2,151,000	517,899	24.08%
37) AL	3,394,000	811,510	23.91%
38) KY	3,147,000	751,515	23.88%
39) TX	14,886,000	3,521,164	23.65%
40) LA	3,338,000	780,981	23.40%
41) ID	1,024,000	235,219	22.97%
42) WV	1,428,000	301,438	21.11%
43) WY	388,000	80,496	20.75%
44) AZ	4,117,000	851,589	20.68%
45) AR	2,065,000	417,314	20.21%
46) OK	2,561,000	502,286	19.61%
47) UT	1,578,000	301,771	19.12%



Republican Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
 President - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008		2004		2000		1996		1992		1988	
		2008 Turnout	% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-04 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-00 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-96 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-92 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-88 Points
AL	3,394,000	1,263,741	37.23	35.19	2.04	28.66	8.57	24.23	13.00	26.55	10.68	27.96	9.27
AZ	4,117,000	1,012,878	24.60	29.06	-4.46	22.74	1.86	19.98	4.62	20.96	3.64	29.03	-4.43
AR	2,065,000	632,140	30.61	28.43	2.18	24.14	6.47	17.35	13.26	19.07	11.54	27.48	3.13
CO	3,219,000	966,957	30.04	35.32	-5.28	29.39	0.65	24.79	5.25	22.47	7.57	30.61	-0.57
CT	2,518,000	606,268	24.08	28.14	-4.06	23.30	0.78	20.06	4.02	23.94	0.14	31.42	-7.34
DE	630,000	151,667	24.07	28.47	-4.40	24.04	0.03	18.21	5.86	20.06	4.01	29.03	-4.96
DC	371,000	14,821	3.99	5.48	-1.49	4.43	-0.44	4.08	-0.09	4.68	-0.69	6.06	-2.07
FL	12,923,000	3,908,736	30.25	32.70	-2.45	26.00	4.25	21.40	8.85	22.53	7.72	29.65	0.60
GA	6,302,000	2,022,409	32.09	31.76	0.33	24.83	7.26	20.22	11.87	20.40	11.69	24.05	8.04
HI	918,000	110,848	12.07	21.94	-9.87	16.27	-4.20	13.95	-1.88	17.52	-5.45	21.46	-9.39
ID	1,024,000	400,989	39.16	42.32	-3.16	37.44	1.72	31.14	8.02	27.80	11.36	37.67	1.49
IL	8,540,000	1,975,801	23.14	27.72	-4.58	24.06	-0.92	19.19	3.95	21.40	1.74	28.92	-5.78
IN	4,586,000	1,341,101	29.24	32.81	-3.57	28.18	1.06	23.46	5.78	23.98	5.26	32.37	-3.13
IA	2,201,000	677,508	30.78	34.57	-3.79	29.55	1.23	23.36	7.42	24.50	6.28	26.68	4.10
KS	1,968,000	685,414	34.83	37.98	-3.15	32.65	2.18	31.27	3.56	24.83	10.00	31.32	3.51
KY	3,147,000	1,050,599	33.38	34.67	-1.29	28.96	4.42	21.43	11.95	22.22	11.16	27.33	6.05
LA	3,338,000	1,147,603	34.38	33.62	0.76	28.93	5.45	22.86	11.52	24.42	9.96	30.17	4.21
ME	1,048,000	271,876	25.94	32.69	-6.75	29.70	-3.76	19.79	6.15	22.52	3.42	34.78	-8.84
MD	4,064,000	873,320	21.49	26.23	-4.74	21.86	-0.37	18.82	2.67	20.15	1.34	26.01	-4.52
MA	4,625,000	1,104,086	23.87	23.51	0.36	19.61	4.26	16.15	7.72	18.25	5.62	27.55	-3.68
MI	7,490,000	2,044,405	27.30	31.60	-4.30	27.39	-0.09	21.25	6.05	22.92	4.38	29.62	-2.32
MN	3,824,000	1,275,653	33.36	36.55	-3.19	31.48	1.88	22.61	10.75	23.14	10.22	30.99	2.37
MS	2,151,000	684,475	31.82	31.93	-0.11	27.86	3.96	22.28	9.54	26.13	5.69	31.08	0.74
MO	4,328,000	1,442,613	33.33	34.44	-1.11	28.95	4.38	22.31	11.02	21.13	12.20	29.13	4.20
MT	731,000	236,513	32.35	37.85	-5.50	35.79	-3.44	28.29	4.06	24.36	7.99	33.52	-1.17
NE	1,243,000	439,421	35.35	41.59	-6.24	35.53	-0.18	30.47	4.88	29.79	5.56	35.12	0.23
NV	1,642,000	411,988	25.09	27.91	-2.82	22.52	2.57	17.06	8.03	18.41	6.68	25.72	-0.63
NH	1,016,000	295,193	29.05	34.22	-5.17	30.06	-1.01	22.51	6.54	24.31	4.74	35.96	-6.91
NJ	5,904,000	1,540,907	26.10	28.86	-2.76	22.69	3.41	19.70	6.40	24.52	1.58	32.09	-5.99
NM	1,346,000	334,298	24.84	29.08	-4.24	23.14	1.70	19.98	4.86	19.85	4.99	27.09	-2.25
NY	12,653,000	2,573,386	20.34	23.58	-3.24	19.27	1.07	15.53	4.81	18.92	1.42	25.03	-4.69
NC	6,423,000	2,108,381	32.83	31.83	1.00	27.83	5.00	22.12	10.71	22.04	10.79	25.66	7.17
ND	485,000	168,523	34.75	40.88	-6.13	36.73	-1.98	26.61	8.14	29.43	5.32	36.29	-1.54
OH	8,562,000	2,469,544	28.84	33.81	-4.97	28.19	0.65	22.68	6.16	23.59	5.25	30.63	-1.79
OK	2,561,000	959,645	37.47	37.97	-0.50	29.88	7.59	24.06	13.41	25.54	11.93	30.12	7.35
PA	9,450,000	2,584,119	27.35	29.98	-2.63	24.89	2.46	19.83	7.52	19.92	7.43	25.86	1.49
RI	790,000	152,197	19.27	21.93	-2.66	17.43	1.84	14.11	5.16	17.88	1.39	24.62	-5.35
SC	3,224,000	1,008,727	31.29	30.24	1.05	26.55	4.74	20.41	10.88	21.97	9.32	24.51	6.78
SD	573,000	203,002	35.43	41.39	-5.96	34.86	0.57	28.46	6.97	27.07	8.36	33.62	1.81
TN	4,512,000	1,487,564	32.97	31.62	1.35	25.14	7.83	21.49	11.48	22.39	10.58	26.55	6.42
TX	14,886,000	4,467,748	30.01	31.90	-1.89	28.35	1.66	21.63	8.38	21.27	8.74	27.68	2.33
UT	1,578,000	555,497	35.20	43.93	-8.73	35.90	-0.70	27.65	7.55	28.20	7.00	41.36	-6.16
VT	495,000	95,422	19.28	25.40	-6.12	26.27	-6.99	18.26	1.02	20.93	-1.65	30.85	-11.57
VA	5,560,000	1,637,337	29.45	32.16	-2.71	28.26	1.19	23.33	6.12	24.80	4.65	29.81	-0.36
WV	1,428,000	394,278	27.61	29.93	-2.32	24.03	3.58	16.94	10.67	17.84	9.77	22.95	4.66
WI	4,183,000	1,258,181	30.08	36.40	-6.32	31.57	-1.49	22.31	7.77	25.65	4.43	29.85	0.23
WY	388,000	160,639	41.40	44.58	-3.18	40.87	0.53	30.55	10.85	24.41	16.99	33.82	7.58
Overall:													
	178,424,000	51,208,418	28.70	31.27	-2.57	26.25	2.45	20.99	7.71	22.15	6.55	28.48	0.22

Republican Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 1984 - 1968  
 President - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008		1984		1980		1976		1972		1968	
		2008 Turnout	% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-84 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-80 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-76 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-72 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-68 Points
AL	3,394,000	1,263,741	37.23	30.81	6.42	23.95	13.28	19.75	17.48	31.46	5.77	7.40	29.83
AZ	4,117,000	1,012,878	24.60	31.16	-6.56	27.85	-3.25	25.92	-1.32	31.79	-7.19	27.44	-2.84
AR	2,065,000	632,140	30.61	32.22	-1.61	24.98	5.63	17.92	12.69	33.57	-2.96	16.66	13.95
CO	3,219,000	966,957	30.04	35.68	-5.64	31.69	-1.65	31.95	-1.91	38.93	-8.89	32.83	-2.79
CT	2,518,000	606,268	24.08	38.75	-14.67	30.64	-6.56	34.02	-9.94	40.62	-16.54	30.88	-6.80
DE	630,000	151,667	24.07	33.30	-9.23	26.12	-2.05	27.60	-3.53	38.67	-14.60	31.20	-7.13
DC	371,000	14,821	3.99	6.25	-2.26	4.99	-1.00	5.71	-1.72	6.98	-2.99	6.56	-2.57
FL	12,923,000	3,908,736	30.25	33.90	-3.65	28.82	1.43	23.86	6.39	37.03	-6.78	21.62	8.63
GA	6,302,000	2,022,409	32.09	25.46	6.63	17.07	15.02	13.80	18.29	28.28	3.81	13.40	18.69
HI	918,000	110,848	12.07	26.74	-14.67	20.46	-8.39	24.48	-12.41	34.25	-22.18	22.14	-10.07
ID	1,024,000	400,989	39.16	45.42	-6.26	46.07	-6.91	35.94	3.22	41.11	-1.95	41.14	-1.98
IL	8,540,000	1,975,801	23.14	34.15	-11.01	30.04	-6.90	31.06	-7.92	38.23	-15.09	32.76	-9.62
IN	4,586,000	1,341,101	29.24	34.98	-5.74	32.61	-3.37	32.24	-3.00	40.85	-11.61	35.43	-6.19
IA	2,201,000	677,508	30.78	34.21	-3.43	32.66	-1.88	31.71	-0.93	37.35	-6.57	36.61	-5.83
KS	1,968,000	685,414	34.83	38.95	-4.12	33.32	1.51	30.86	3.97	40.35	-5.52	35.17	-0.34
KY	3,147,000	1,050,599	33.38	31.17	2.21	24.68	8.70	22.04	11.34	30.75	2.63	22.43	10.95
LA	3,338,000	1,147,603	34.38	35.87	-1.49	27.85	6.53	22.20	12.18	28.97	5.41	12.90	21.48
ME	1,048,000	271,876	25.94	39.82	-13.88	29.93	-3.99	31.94	-6.00	38.33	-12.39	28.69	-2.75
MD	4,064,000	873,320	21.49	27.48	-5.99	22.69	-1.20	23.88	-2.39	31.90	-10.41	23.06	-1.57
MA	4,625,000	1,104,086	23.87	31.01	-7.14	25.82	-1.95	26.07	-2.20	29.47	-5.60	22.33	1.54
MI	7,490,000	2,044,405	27.30	34.49	-7.19	29.93	-2.63	31.04	-3.74	34.39	-7.09	27.29	0.01
MN	3,824,000	1,275,653	33.36	34.34	-0.98	30.25	3.11	30.14	3.22	35.84	-2.48	30.28	3.08
MS	2,151,000	684,475	31.82	33.22	-1.40	25.90	5.92	23.07	8.75	35.08	-3.26	7.20	24.62
MO	4,328,000	1,442,613	33.33	34.99	-1.66	30.34	2.99	27.36	5.97	36.09	-2.76	28.57	4.76
MT	731,000	236,513	32.35	41.43	-9.08	37.47	-5.12	33.73	-1.38	39.56	-7.21	34.62	-2.27
NE	1,243,000	439,421	35.35	40.89	-5.54	37.66	-2.31	33.71	1.64	40.59	-5.24	36.25	-0.90
NV	1,642,000	411,988	25.09	26.93	-1.84	26.82	-1.73	21.10	3.99	31.63	-6.54	26.71	-1.62
NH	1,016,000	295,193	29.05	36.68	-7.63	33.59	-4.54	31.35	-2.30	41.74	-12.69	36.19	-7.14
NJ	5,904,000	1,540,907	26.10	36.50	-10.40	30.13	-4.03	30.49	-4.39	39.07	-12.97	30.65	-4.55
NM	1,346,000	334,298	24.84	32.60	-7.76	28.66	-3.82	27.11	-2.27	35.81	-10.97	31.19	-6.35
NY	12,653,000	2,573,386	20.34	30.08	-9.74	24.08	-3.74	25.95	-5.61	35.29	-14.95	26.63	-6.29
NC	6,423,000	2,108,381	32.83	29.53	3.30	21.59	11.24	18.99	13.84	30.13	2.70	21.48	11.35
ND	485,000	168,523	34.75	43.74	-8.99	42.29	-7.54	35.20	-0.45	42.99	-8.24	39.06	-4.31
OH	8,562,000	2,469,544	28.84	34.45	-5.61	28.89	-0.05	27.16	1.68	34.85	-6.01	28.67	0.17
OK	2,561,000	959,645	37.47	39.02	-1.55	32.32	5.15	27.22	10.25	41.98	-4.51	28.98	8.49
PA	9,450,000	2,584,119	27.35	29.41	-2.06	26.14	1.21	26.31	1.04	33.81	-6.46	28.67	-1.32
RI	790,000	152,197	19.27	30.21	-10.94	22.86	-3.59	27.46	-8.19	34.43	-15.16	21.17	-1.90
SC	3,224,000	1,008,727	31.29	26.26	5.03	20.21	11.08	17.39	13.90	27.34	3.95	17.78	13.51
SD	573,000	203,002	35.43	41.04	-5.61	41.06	-5.63	32.72	2.71	38.10	-2.67	38.82	-3.39
TN	4,512,000	1,487,564	32.97	28.75	4.22	23.91	9.06	20.78	12.19	29.70	3.27	20.33	12.64
TX	14,886,000	4,467,748	30.01	33.15	-3.14	26.13	3.88	22.43	7.58	30.30	-0.29	19.32	10.69
UT	1,578,000	555,497	35.20	47.87	-12.67	48.21	-13.01	41.56	-6.36	47.25	-12.05	43.48	-8.28
VT	495,000	95,422	19.28	35.29	-16.01	26.07	-6.79	30.56	-11.28	39.31	-20.03	33.52	-14.24
VA	5,560,000	1,637,337	29.45	32.27	-2.82	25.76	3.69	23.57	5.88	30.91	-1.46	21.87	7.58
WV	1,428,000	394,278	27.61	29.71	-2.10	24.20	3.41	24.03	3.58	40.15	-12.54	28.72	-1.11
WI	4,183,000	1,258,181	30.08	34.97	-4.89	32.74	-2.66	31.91	-1.83	33.92	-3.84	31.85	-1.77
WY	388,000	160,639	41.40	41.90	-0.50	34.59	6.81	32.65	8.75	42.93	-1.53	36.56	4.84
Overall:													
	178,424,000	51,208,418	28.70	32.84	-4.14	27.55	1.15	26.23	2.47	34.58	-5.88	26.01	2.69

Ranked Order - 2008

Republican President - General Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen

	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	2008 % VAP Voted
1) WY	388,000	160,639	41.40%
2) ID	1,024,000	400,989	39.16%
3) OK	2,561,000	959,645	37.47%
4) AL	3,394,000	1,263,741	37.23%
5) SD	573,000	203,002	35.43%
6) NE	1,243,000	439,421	35.35%
7) UT	1,578,000	555,497	35.20%
8) KS	1,968,000	685,414	34.83%
9) ND	485,000	168,523	34.75%
10) LA	3,338,000	1,147,603	34.38%
11) KY	3,147,000	1,050,599	33.38%
12) MN	3,824,000	1,275,653	33.36%
13) MO	4,328,000	1,442,613	33.33%
14) TN	4,512,000	1,487,564	32.97%
15) NC	6,423,000	2,108,381	32.83%
16) MT	731,000	236,513	32.35%
17) GA	6,302,000	2,022,409	32.09%
18) MS	2,151,000	684,475	31.82%
19) SC	3,224,000	1,008,727	31.29%
20) IA	2,201,000	677,508	30.78%
21) AR	2,065,000	632,140	30.61%
22) FL	12,923,000	3,908,736	30.25%
23) WI	4,183,000	1,258,181	30.08%
24) CO	3,219,000	966,957	30.04%
25) TX	14,886,000	4,467,748	30.01%
26) VA	5,560,000	1,637,337	29.45%
27) IN	4,586,000	1,341,101	29.24%
28) NH	1,016,000	295,193	29.05%
29) OH	8,562,000	2,469,544	28.84%
30) WV	1,428,000	394,278	27.61%
31) PA	9,450,000	2,584,119	27.35%
32) MI	7,490,000	2,044,405	27.30%
33) NJ	5,904,000	1,540,907	26.10%
34) ME	1,048,000	271,876	25.94%
35) NV	1,642,000	411,988	25.09%
36) NM	1,346,000	334,298	24.84%
37) AZ	4,117,000	1,012,878	24.60%
38) CT	2,518,000	606,268	24.08%
39) DE	630,000	151,667	24.07%
40) MA	4,625,000	1,104,086	23.87%
41) IL	8,540,000	1,975,801	23.14%
42) MD	4,064,000	873,320	21.49%
43) NY	12,653,000	2,573,386	20.34%
44) VT	495,000	95,422	19.28%
45) RI	790,000	152,197	19.27%
46) HI	918,000	110,848	12.07%
47) DC	371,000	14,821	3.99%

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Total Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
U.S. Senate - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008		2004		2000		1996		1992		1988	
		2008 Turnout	% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-04 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-00 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-96 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-92 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-88 Points
AL	3,394,000	2,052,834	60.48	55.01	5.47	—	—	47.24	13.24	52.09	8.39	—	—
AR	2,065,000	1,005,302	48.68	51.53	-2.85	—	—	45.11	3.57	52.01	-3.33	—	—
CO	3,219,000	2,051,705	63.74	67.59	-3.85	—	—	52.66	11.08	61.97	1.77	—	—
DE	630,000	398,068	63.19	—	—	57.27	5.92	50.66	12.53	—	—	50.62	12.57
GA	6,302,000	3,695,408	58.64	53.43	5.21	42.47	16.17	42.27	16.37	46.16	12.48	—	—
ID	1,024,000	641,784	62.67	52.11	10.56	—	—	60.34	2.33	65.64	-2.97	—	—
IL	8,540,000	4,500,638	52.70	60.75	-8.05	—	—	51.41	1.29	60.96	-8.26	—	—
IA	2,201,000	1,486,720	67.55	68.01	-0.46	—	—	58.04	9.51	62.71	4.84	—	—
KS	1,968,000	1,183,030	60.11	58.23	1.88	—	—	57.09	3.02	62.17	-2.06	—	—
KY	3,147,000	1,798,844	57.16	55.90	1.26	—	—	44.93	12.23	47.92	9.24	—	—
LA	3,338,000	1,894,072	56.74	56.38	0.36	—	—	54.54	2.20	28.07	28.67	—	—
ME	1,048,000	667,220	63.67	—	—	65.79	-2.12	64.41	-0.74	—	—	63.12	0.55
MA	4,625,000	2,975,540	64.34	—	—	58.04	6.30	57.49	6.85	—	—	60.11	4.23
MI	7,490,000	4,843,549	64.67	—	—	58.44	6.23	53.97	10.70	—	—	52.83	11.84
MN	3,824,000	2,883,015	75.39	—	—	68.64	6.75	64.40	10.99	—	—	67.44	7.95
MS	2,151,000	1,168,813	54.34	—	—	48.35	5.99	44.51	9.83	—	—	52.74	1.60
MT	731,000	460,210	62.96	—	—	61.34	1.62	64.17	-1.21	—	—	64.31	-1.35
NE	1,243,000	761,840	61.29	—	—	56.70	4.59	56.73	4.56	—	—	58.95	2.34
NH	1,016,000	648,661	63.84	67.98	-4.14	—	—	56.43	7.41	62.24	1.60	—	—
NJ	5,904,000	3,283,568	55.62	—	—	53.29	2.33	51.51	4.11	—	—	55.00	0.62
NM	1,346,000	791,975	58.84	—	—	47.62	11.22	47.37	11.47	—	—	50.96	7.88
NC	6,423,000	4,224,124	65.77	56.36	9.41	—	—	46.13	19.64	50.07	15.70	—	—
OK	2,561,000	1,346,267	52.57	57.23	-4.66	—	—	48.89	3.68	55.75	-3.18	—	—
RI	790,000	402,450	50.94	—	—	52.25	-1.31	48.97	1.97	—	—	55.12	-4.18
SC	3,224,000	1,824,942	56.60	51.49	5.11	—	—	41.33	15.27	44.90	11.70	—	—
SD	573,000	380,575	66.42	69.61	-3.19	—	—	61.34	5.08	66.24	0.18	—	—
TN	4,512,000	2,411,955	53.46	—	—	45.66	7.80	44.27	9.19	—	—	43.92	9.54
TX	14,886,000	7,895,258	53.04	—	—	46.83	6.21	43.70	9.34	—	—	48.52	4.52
VA	5,560,000	3,407,338	61.28	—	—	53.45	7.83	48.25	13.03	—	—	47.12	14.16
WV	1,428,000	696,871	48.80	—	—	43.11	5.69	43.13	5.67	—	—	46.97	1.83
WY	388,000	242,963	62.62	—	—	59.02	3.60	61.18	1.44	—	—	57.27	5.35
Overall:													
	105,551,000	62,025,539	58.76	57.82	0.95	52.02	6.74	49.78	8.99	52.77	5.99	52.81	5.95

Democratic Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
U.S. Senate - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008		2004		2000		1996		1992		1988	
		2008 % VAP Turnout	% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-04 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-00 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-96 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-92 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-88 Points
AL	3,394,000	750,518	22.11	17.80	4.31	—	—	21.48	0.63	33.76	-11.65	—	—
AR	2,065,000	798,614	38.67	28.76	9.91	—	—	21.33	17.34	31.30	7.37	—	—
CO	3,219,000	1,065,232	33.09	34.68	-1.59	—	—	24.28	8.81	32.08	1.01	—	—
DE	630,000	257,484	40.87	—	—	31.80	9.07	30.42	10.45	—	—	19.21	21.66
GA	6,302,000	1,727,626	27.41	21.36	6.05	24.72	2.69	20.65	6.76	22.72	4.69	—	—
ID	1,024,000	219,092	21.40	0.43	20.97	—	—	24.08	-2.68	28.54	-7.14	—	—
IL	8,540,000	2,843,991	33.30	42.50	-9.20	—	—	28.83	4.47	32.47	0.83	—	—
IA	2,201,000	930,514	42.28	18.96	23.32	—	—	30.07	12.21	17.06	25.22	—	—
KS	1,968,000	429,691	21.83	16.01	5.82	—	—	24.74	-2.91	19.29	2.54	—	—
KY	3,147,000	846,221	26.89	27.58	-0.69	—	—	19.25	7.64	30.14	-3.25	—	—
LA	3,338,000	986,411	29.55	26.77	2.78	—	—	27.36	2.19	22.04	7.51	—	—
ME	1,048,000	258,761	24.69	—	—	20.43	4.26	28.26	-3.57	—	—	51.26	-26.57
MA	4,625,000	1,958,404	42.34	—	—	42.19	0.15	30.01	12.33	—	—	39.05	3.29
MI	7,490,000	3,033,550	40.50	—	—	28.92	11.58	31.49	9.01	—	—	31.90	8.60
MN	3,824,000	1,211,167	31.67	—	—	33.52	-1.85	32.40	-0.73	—	—	27.59	4.08
MS	2,151,000	522,419	24.29	—	—	15.28	9.01	12.19	12.10	—	—	24.31	-0.02
MT	731,000	334,732	45.79	—	—	28.98	16.81	31.80	13.99	—	—	30.95	14.84
NE	1,243,000	304,383	24.49	—	—	28.92	-4.43	23.63	0.86	—	—	33.43	-8.94
NH	1,016,000	337,201	33.19	22.89	10.30	—	—	26.05	7.14	28.21	4.98	—	—
NJ	5,904,000	1,823,715	30.89	—	—	26.71	4.18	27.14	3.75	—	—	29.45	1.44
NM	1,346,000	485,036	36.04	—	—	29.38	6.66	14.11	21.93	—	—	32.26	3.78
NC	6,423,000	2,225,027	34.64	26.50	8.14	—	—	21.18	13.46	23.19	11.45	—	—
OK	2,561,000	527,528	20.60	23.61	-3.01	—	—	19.59	1.01	21.29	-0.69	—	—
RI	790,000	295,614	37.42	—	—	21.50	15.92	31.09	6.33	—	—	25.03	12.39
SC	3,224,000	773,940	24.01	22.71	1.30	—	—	18.18	5.83	22.48	1.53	—	—
SD	573,000	237,816	41.50	34.40	7.10	—	—	31.48	10.02	42.99	-1.49	—	—
TN	4,512,000	762,779	16.91	—	—	14.71	2.20	16.30	0.61	—	—	28.59	-11.68
TX	14,886,000	3,383,890	22.73	—	—	15.15	7.58	19.20	3.53	—	—	28.71	-5.98
VA	5,560,000	2,189,516	39.38	—	—	25.48	13.90	22.87	16.51	—	—	33.57	5.81
WV	1,428,000	444,107	31.10	—	—	33.52	-2.42	33.06	-1.96	—	—	30.42	0.68
WY	388,000	58,749	15.14	—	—	13.01	2.13	25.83	-10.69	—	—	28.42	-13.28
Overall:													
	105,551,000	32,023,728	30.34	27.12	3.22	24.44	5.90	24.08	6.26	26.74	3.60	30.95	-0.61

Republican Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
U.S. Senate - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008		2004		2000		1996		1992		1988	
		2008 VAP	% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-04 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-00 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-96 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-92 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-88 Points
AL	3,394,000	1,302,316	38.37	37.16	1.21	—	—	24.78	13.59	17.23	21.14	—	—
CO	3,219,000	890,188	27.65	31.45	-3.80	—	—	26.88	0.77	26.46	1.19	—	—
DE	630,000	140,584	22.31	—	—	25.02	-2.71	19.32	2.99	—	—	31.42	-9.11
GA	6,302,000	1,841,454	29.22	30.93	-1.71	16.10	13.12	20.09	9.13	22.00	7.22	—	—
ID	1,024,000	369,900	36.12	51.69	-15.57	—	—	34.41	1.71	37.10	-0.98	—	—
IL	8,540,000	1,476,083	17.28	16.43	0.85	—	—	20.91	-3.63	26.25	-8.97	—	—
IA	2,201,000	556,206	25.27	47.73	-22.46	—	—	27.11	-1.84	43.66	-18.39	—	—
KS	1,968,000	712,396	36.20	40.27	-4.07	—	—	30.78	5.42	38.98	-2.78	—	—
KY	3,147,000	952,623	30.27	28.31	1.96	—	—	24.92	5.35	17.16	13.11	—	—
LA	3,338,000	866,624	25.96	28.77	-2.81	—	—	27.18	-1.22	3.54	22.42	—	—
ME	1,048,000	408,459	38.98	—	—	45.36	-6.38	31.68	7.30	—	—	11.86	27.12
MA	4,625,000	922,409	19.94	—	—	7.46	12.48	25.70	-5.76	—	—	20.39	-0.45
MI	7,490,000	1,639,165	21.88	—	—	27.97	-6.09	21.52	0.36	—	—	20.32	1.56
MN	3,824,000	1,211,644	31.69	—	—	29.72	1.97	26.59	5.10	—	—	37.88	-6.19
MS	2,151,000	646,394	30.05	—	—	31.86	-1.81	31.62	-1.57	—	—	28.43	1.62
MT	731,000	125,478	17.17	—	—	31.01	-13.84	28.68	-11.51	—	—	33.35	-16.18
NE	1,243,000	439,281	35.34	—	—	27.68	7.66	31.85	3.49	—	—	24.56	10.78
NH	1,016,000	291,434	28.68	45.03	-16.35	—	—	27.76	0.92	29.96	-1.28	—	—
NJ	5,904,000	1,394,761	23.62	—	—	25.10	-1.48	21.93	1.69	—	—	24.85	-1.23
NM	1,346,000	306,939	22.80	—	—	18.22	4.58	30.66	-7.86	—	—	18.70	4.10
NC	6,423,000	1,867,217	29.07	29.08	-0.01	—	—	24.28	4.79	25.21	3.86	—	—
OK	2,561,000	763,063	29.80	30.20	-0.40	—	—	27.71	2.09	32.64	-2.84	—	—
RI	790,000	106,836	13.52	—	—	29.72	-16.20	17.17	-3.65	—	—	30.09	-16.57
SC	3,224,000	1,051,002	32.60	27.63	4.97	—	—	22.06	10.54	21.08	11.52	—	—
SD	573,000	142,759	24.91	35.20	-10.29	—	—	29.86	-4.95	21.53	3.38	—	—
TN	4,512,000	1,571,637	34.83	—	—	29.72	5.11	27.17	7.66	—	—	15.16	19.67
TX	14,886,000	4,326,639	29.07	—	—	30.45	-1.38	23.93	5.14	—	—	19.41	9.66
VA	5,560,000	1,176,351	21.16	—	—	27.93	-6.77	25.32	-4.16	—	—	13.52	7.64
WV	1,428,000	252,764	17.70	—	—	8.69	9.01	10.07	7.63	—	—	16.55	1.15
WY	388,000	184,214	47.48	—	—	43.54	3.94	33.08	14.40	—	—	28.84	18.64
Overall:													
	103,486,000	27,936,820	27.00	29.88	-2.88	25.63	1.36	24.43	2.56	24.33	2.67	21.37	5.63

Total Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
 Governor - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	2008	2004		2000		1996		1992		1988	
			% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-04 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-00 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-96 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-92 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-88 Points
DE	630,000	395,199	62.73	60.53	2.20	56.67	6.06	49.84	12.89	54.32	8.41	49.89	12.84
IN	4,586,000	2,693,606	58.74	54.30	4.44	49.29	9.45	49.16	9.58	54.03	4.71	53.40	5.34
MO	4,328,000	2,869,707	66.31	64.34	1.97	57.10	9.21	53.71	12.60	61.06	5.25	56.01	10.30
MT	731,000	464,774	63.58	63.46	0.12	61.13	2.45	63.81	-0.23	68.89	-5.31	64.62	-1.04
NH	1,016,000	639,407	62.93	68.34	-5.41	62.02	0.91	56.93	6.00	61.97	0.96	56.44	6.49
NC	6,423,000	4,216,998	65.65	56.59	9.06	50.19	15.46	46.30	19.35	50.40	15.25	45.21	20.44
ND	485,000	315,062	64.96	64.42	0.54	60.80	4.16	56.23	8.73	65.84	-0.88	65.16	-0.20
UT	1,578,000	877,960	55.64	60.88	-5.24	53.09	2.55	51.33	4.31	66.66	-11.02	62.66	-7.02
VT	495,000	294,958	59.59	64.84	-5.25	64.36	-4.77	57.87	1.72	67.87	-8.28	60.27	-0.68
WV	1,428,000	700,401	49.05	51.89	-2.84	46.29	2.76	45.51	3.54	48.46	0.59	48.08	0.97
Overall:													
	21,700,000	13,468,072	62.06	58.90	3.17	52.97	9.10	50.38	11.69	56.31	5.75	52.71	9.35



Democratic Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
Governor - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008		2004		2000		1996		1992		1988	
		2008 Turnout	% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-04 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-00 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-96 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-92 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-88 Points
DE	630,000	266,858	42.36	30.79	11.57	33.57	8.79	34.61	7.75	35.17	7.19	14.60	27.76
IN	4,586,000	1,078,448	23.52	24.70	-1.18	27.88	-4.36	25.33	-1.81	33.50	-9.98	28.40	-4.88
MO	4,328,000	1,675,270	38.71	30.79	7.92	28.05	10.66	30.70	8.01	35.83	2.88	19.47	19.24
MT	731,000	303,415	41.51	32.01	9.50	28.78	12.73	13.29	28.22	33.52	7.99	29.81	11.70
NH	1,016,000	447,589	44.05	34.70	9.35	30.22	13.83	32.55	11.50	24.76	19.29	22.04	22.01
NC	6,423,000	2,117,745	32.97	31.47	1.50	26.11	6.86	25.92	7.05	26.57	6.40	19.86	13.11
ND	485,000	74,144	15.29	17.65	-2.36	27.34	-12.05	19.01	-3.72	26.75	-11.46	39.02	-23.73
UT	1,578,000	172,646	10.94	25.17	-14.23	22.44	-11.50	11.96	-1.02	15.49	-4.55	24.07	-13.13
VT	495,000	62,256	12.58	24.60	-12.02	32.47	-19.89	40.81	-28.23	50.72	-38.14	33.36	-20.78
WV	1,428,000	488,837	34.23	32.93	1.30	23.20	11.03	20.85	13.38	27.16	7.07	28.31	5.92
Overall:	21,700,000	6,687,208	30.82	29.21	1.61	27.08	3.74	25.77	5.05	30.34	0.48	23.69	7.12



Republican Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
 Governor - General Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008		2004		2000		1996		1992		1988	
		2008 Turnout	% VAP Voted	% VAP Voted	+/-08-04 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-00 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-96 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-92 Points	% VAP Voted	+/-08-88 Points
DE	630,000	126,660	20.10	27.71	-7.61	22.52	-2.42	15.19	4.91	17.79	2.31	35.29	-15.19
IN	4,586,000	1,557,965	33.97	28.90	5.07	20.54	13.43	23.00	10.97	19.94	14.03	25.00	8.97
MO	4,328,000	1,133,779	26.20	32.70	-6.50	27.53	-1.33	21.72	4.48	25.23	0.97	35.97	-9.77
MT	731,000	151,941	20.79	29.21	-8.42	31.17	-10.38	50.51	-29.72	35.37	-14.58	33.56	-12.77
NH	1,016,000	176,739	17.40	33.64	-16.24	27.14	-9.74	22.49	-5.09	34.71	-17.31	34.11	-16.71
NC	6,423,000	1,978,084	30.80	24.27	6.53	23.22	7.58	19.80	11.00	21.79	9.01	25.35	5.45
ND	485,000	234,527	48.36	45.90	2.46	33.46	14.90	37.22	11.14	38.10	10.26	26.14	22.22
UT	1,578,000	682,409	43.25	35.15	8.10	29.61	13.64	38.48	4.77	28.12	15.13	25.14	18.11
VT	495,000	161,423	32.61	38.06	-5.45	24.42	8.19	12.99	19.62	15.64	16.97	26.10	6.51
WV	1,428,000	180,353	12.63	17.68	-5.05	21.85	-9.22	23.50	-10.87	17.73	-5.10	19.78	-7.15
Overall:													
	21,700,000	6,383,880	29.42	28.79	0.63	24.55	4.87	23.67	5.75	23.36	6.05	28.04	1.38

Total Highest Statewide Turnout as a Percentage of VAP - Citizen 2008 vs 2004 - 1988  
General Election Races

ST	2008 VAP	2008 Turnout	2008 % VAP Voted	2004 % VAP Voted	+/-08-04 Points	2000 % VAP Voted	+/-08-00 Points	1996 % VAP Voted	+/-08-96 Points	1992 % VAP Voted	+/-08-92 Points	1988 % VAP Voted	+/-08-88 Points
AL	3,394,000	2,091,143	61.61	56.34	5.27	50.74	10.87	48.34	13.27	55.73	5.88	47.26	14.35
AR	2,065,000	1,075,428	52.08	52.35	-0.27	47.05	5.03	47.14	4.94	53.74	-1.66	48.75	3.33
AZ	4,117,000	1,886,811	45.83	52.96	-7.13	44.57	1.26	45.10	0.73	54.49	-8.66	48.42	-2.59
CO	3,219,000	2,110,209	65.55	68.30	-2.75	57.91	7.64	54.13	11.42	62.64	2.91	57.69	7.86
CT	2,518,000	1,567,752	62.26	64.02	-1.76	60.61	1.65	57.83	4.43	66.90	-4.64	60.44	1.82
DC	371,000	226,573	61.07	58.66	2.41	49.48	11.59	43.70	17.37	51.49	9.58	42.39	18.68
DE	630,000	403,631	64.07	62.22	1.85	57.36	6.71	50.66	13.41	56.81	7.26	51.95	12.12
FL	12,923,000	8,072,686	62.47	62.77	-0.30	53.22	9.25	50.57	11.90	55.09	7.38	48.71	13.76
GA	6,302,000	3,862,027	61.28	54.72	6.56	45.41	15.87	43.01	18.27	47.58	13.70	40.24	21.04
HI	918,000	415,995	45.32	48.48	-3.16	43.44	1.88	44.08	1.24	47.74	-2.42	47.96	-2.64
IA	2,201,000	1,515,815	68.87	69.28	-0.41	61.27	7.60	58.51	10.36	65.73	3.14	59.96	8.91
ID	1,024,000	651,714	63.64	61.88	1.76	55.74	7.90	60.34	3.30	66.14	-2.50	60.68	2.96
IL	8,540,000	5,339,577	62.52	62.31	0.21	56.50	6.02	52.14	10.38	62.32	0.20	57.06	5.46
IN	4,586,000	2,737,551	59.69	54.74	4.95	49.75	9.94	49.76	9.93	55.89	3.80	54.09	5.60
KS	1,968,000	1,206,127	61.29	61.26	0.03	56.25	5.04	57.60	3.69	63.87	-2.58	56.14	5.15
KY	3,147,000	1,828,097	58.09	58.21	-0.12	51.25	6.84	47.74	10.35	53.76	4.33	49.22	8.87
LA	3,338,000	1,958,059	58.66	59.28	-0.62	55.06	3.60	57.23	1.43	59.61	-0.95	55.59	3.07
MA	4,625,000	3,047,312	65.89	63.77	2.12	60.35	5.54	57.51	8.38	62.87	3.02	60.72	5.17
MD	4,064,000	2,312,316	56.90	61.04	-4.14	54.36	2.54	49.18	7.72	56.55	0.35	50.89	6.01
ME	1,048,000	674,670	64.38	73.34	-8.96	67.55	-3.17	64.41	-0.03	74.10	-9.72	63.12	1.26
MI	7,490,000	4,993,499	66.67	66.08	0.59	59.35	7.32	55.20	11.47	63.02	3.65	55.29	11.38
MN	3,824,000	2,901,017	75.86	76.75	-0.89	69.18	6.68	64.68	11.18	72.65	3.21	67.53	8.33
MO	4,328,000	2,916,663	67.39	64.62	2.77	57.46	9.93	54.10	13.29	62.30	5.09	56.22	11.17
MS	2,151,000	1,212,506	56.37	54.10	2.27	48.36	8.01	45.80	10.57	52.59	3.78	52.74	3.63
MT	731,000	472,014	64.57	64.07	0.50	61.34	3.23	64.17	0.40	69.36	-4.79	64.62	-0.05
NC	6,423,000	4,256,702	66.27	56.83	9.44	50.19	16.08	46.30	19.97	50.73	15.54	45.21	21.06
ND	485,000	315,987	65.15	65.04	0.11	60.80	4.35	56.68	8.47	66.55	-1.40	65.36	-0.21
NE	1,243,000	767,057	61.71	63.11	-1.40	57.09	4.62	56.78	4.93	63.95	-2.24	58.95	2.76
NH	1,016,000	662,456	65.20	70.01	-4.81	62.54	2.66	57.18	8.02	64.58	0.62	57.61	7.59
NJ	5,904,000	3,653,773	61.89	62.41	-0.52	56.32	5.57	54.93	6.96	60.43	1.46	57.06	4.83
NM	1,346,000	798,986	59.36	58.35	1.01	48.35	11.01	47.73	11.63	53.17	6.19	52.23	7.13
NV	1,642,000	965,120	58.78	55.31	3.47	45.48	13.30	39.75	19.03	53.02	5.76	43.70	15.08
NY	12,653,000	7,011,244	55.41	58.83	-3.42	54.69	0.72	50.74	4.67	55.84	-0.43	52.66	2.75
OH	8,562,000	5,227,180	61.05	66.54	-5.49	56.40	4.65	55.29	5.76	61.51	-0.46	55.69	5.36
OK	2,561,000	1,461,931	57.08	57.90	-0.82	49.55	7.53	49.86	7.22	59.88	-2.80	52.00	5.08
PA	9,450,000	5,830,312	61.70	61.88	-0.18	53.60	8.10	49.60	12.10	55.15	6.55	51.00	10.70
RI	790,000	434,411	54.99	56.70	-1.71	54.58	0.41	52.60	2.39	61.61	-6.62	56.04	-1.05
SC	3,224,000	1,889,399	58.60	52.15	6.45	46.71	11.89	41.33	17.27	45.74	12.86	40.07	18.53
SD	573,000	381,876	66.65	69.61	-2.96	57.82	8.83	61.34	5.31	66.58	0.07	63.62	3.03
TN	4,512,000	8,106,823	179.67	55.67	124.00	49.15	130.52	47.14	132.53	52.77	126.90	45.86	133.81
TX	14,886,000	8,045,310	54.05	52.23	1.82	47.80	6.25	44.36	9.69	52.44	1.61	49.47	4.58
UT	1,578,000	883,658	56.00	61.41	-5.41	53.71	2.29	51.33	4.67	66.66	-10.66	62.66	-6.66
VA	5,560,000	3,460,712	62.24	59.91	2.33	53.86	8.38	49.52	12.72	55.16	7.08	49.91	12.33
VT	495,000	302,337	61.08	65.47	-4.39	64.54	-3.46	58.74	2.34	68.81	-7.73	60.38	0.70
WI	4,183,000	2,965,159	70.89	73.82	-2.93	66.31	4.58	57.98	12.91	69.75	1.14	62.46	8.43
WV	1,428,000	707,702	49.56	53.40	-3.84	46.29	3.27	46.09	3.47	50.42	-0.86	48.36	1.20
WY	388,000	246,329	63.49	64.74	-1.25	60.32	3.17	61.32	2.17	61.72	1.77	57.27	6.22
Overall:	178,424,000	113,853,656	63.81	60.54	3.27	53.92	9.89	51.10	12.71	57.89	5.92	52.94	10.87

## SYMPOSIUM

# The Empirical Effects of Voter-ID Laws: Present or Absent?

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**T**he effect of voter-identification (voter-ID) laws on turnout is a hot-button issue in contemporary American politics. In April of 2008, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed Indiana's voter-ID law, the nation's most rigorous, which requires voters to arrive at the polls with a state-issued photo ID containing an expiration date (*Crawford v. Marion County* 2008). In a famous incident highlighting how Hoosiers were dealing with their state's voter-ID law, representative Julia Carson (D-IN) was initially blocked from voting during Indiana's 2006 primary election for failing to comply with Indiana's voter-identification standard. Carson identified herself with her congressional ID card; since that card did not include an expiration date and therefore did not meet Indiana's voter-identification law, she was turned away at the polls before later being allowed to vote (Goldstein 2006). The rising wave of public, political, and legal debate crested two years later in the wake of the Supreme Court ruling and during the Indiana primaries, with reports of a dozen nuns being denied ballots at the polls due to their lack of appropriate identification (Urbina 2008).

While political science research regarding the impact of voter-ID laws on turnout is scarce, a growing community of scholars is examining whether voter-ID requirements affect behavior. Though reservations regarding the fairness of these laws persist, we address the question of whether strict voter-identification requirements have (already) systematically affected voter turnout at the aggregate or individual levels. The early evidence paints an incomplete picture, consisting of some qualified claims that states with stricter voter-identification laws negatively, albeit marginally, affect turnout (Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz 2007; Eagleton Institute of Politics and Moritz College of Law 2006; Vercellotti and Anderson 2006), while other reports find that these effects are too small to be of practical concern (Ansolabehere 2007; Muhlhausen and Sikich 2007). Variations in the populations under investigation, the time periods examined, the statistical methods employed, and the specifications of the various models perhaps explain these inconsistencies. But, research is also limited by theoretical shortcomings about why voter-ID laws should impact turnout.

In this article, we argue that voter-ID laws should have little to no effect on aggregate or individual-level turnout, particularly after considering political motivations for voting. This is not to claim that voter-ID laws will not have an impact on

future voting nor are we arguing no one is impacted by voter-ID laws, rather we suggest that these laws have *not* had a significant impact on voting thus far. Moreover, given the get-out-the-vote initiatives and grassroots programs designed to increase civic engagement and inform voters, we expect that members of the electorate who are interested in voting are more likely to do so regardless of the state laws requiring various forms of identification.

While there are many examples of anecdotal evidence in the debate over disenfranchisement and voter-identification laws, like the one with which we open this article,<sup>1</sup> we chose to put the question of the impact of voter-ID laws to an empirical test.<sup>2</sup> Using multiple data sources, we explored whether strict voter-identification laws affect voter turnout at both the aggregate (state) and individual level. We find that voter-identification laws do not affect voter turnout, and as a result we fail to reject the null hypothesis of no effects. In the sections below we review our reasoning, data, and findings, and provide discussion and conclusions regarding the impact of voter-ID laws on turnout.

## VOTER IDENTIFICATION AND TURNOUT

We argue that socio-demographic and political motivational factors are far more determinative of voting than the imposition of identification laws.<sup>3</sup> On the one hand, education remains a crucial factor that drives turnout (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980)<sup>4</sup> and perhaps more importantly, political interest (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995) is a strong and consistent force behind the decision to vote. Indeed, this supports earlier claims from *The American Voter*, where Campbell et al. wrote that "the stronger the individual's psychological involvement [in political matters] the more likely he is to participate in politics by voting" (1960, 102). On the other hand, the personal cost of voting is a potentially important part of the decision calculus as well (Downs 1957). Recent voter-ID laws potentially increase this cost in at least two ways. First, voters who fail to supply the necessary identification may be turned away without voting. Second, there are sometimes monetary and preparation costs associated with voter-ID laws that voters must incur. These costs may be relatively low or high depending on a voter's level of sophistication, work flexibility, or income.

Yet, voters who are interested in politics should be able to overcome the potential institutional barrier of strict voter-identification requirements while citizens who are

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uninterested in politics should be less likely to vote regardless of the nature of a state's voter-identification law. Moreover, many individuals who plan to participate in elections have already overcome any potential costs by having obtained government-issued identification, as well as other less stringent forms of ID. Thus, we hypothesize that voters with higher levels of interest in politics are more likely to vote, and are less affected by voter-identification laws.

From a theoretical standpoint, the voters most likely to be negatively affected by voter-identification laws are those who are interested in voting, but do not know and/or have the proper identification. This population may include groups such as first-time voters, those not wanting to interact with government, or those whose IDs have recently expired. For now, we are less concerned about the average member of the electorate not having a single form of government-issued identification. The data on voting-age citizens by demographic characteristics with or without photo identification is quite limited; however, recent data collected on six states (see Barreto, Nuño, and Sanchez 2009 for an estimate of Indiana) show that while 15% of the voting-age population lacks the necessary identification to vote, 20% of minorities are lacking. However, not all the states examined (e.g., Wisconsin, California, Washington, or New Mexico) require government-issued photo ID, and these data cannot sufficiently say whether such an estimate has any relation to voting behavior, although there is the implication.

States requiring a photo ID to vote, including Indiana, have made special efforts to publicize the need for proper ID and encourage citizens to secure identification. For example, the State of Indiana spent \$1.25 million on an outreach program to inform voters of the change in identification requirements, and its secretary of state's office estimates that it increased its outreach efforts by 50% during the 2008 primary election season (Indiana Secretary of State 2008). In addition to outreach efforts, Indiana's identification law was written to make acquiring a state-issued identification relatively painless. First, Public Law 109-205 requires that the Indiana Bureau of Motor Vehicles (BMV) issue any voting eligible citizen a free voter-ID card, which is valid for six years, upon request. Aside from monetary costs, time costs—in Indiana at least—also appear to be relatively low. The BMV estimates that the average visit time to one of the 146 statewide BMV offices is eight minutes, with the longest average visit time in the state at 14 minutes (Indiana BMV 2008a). Between January 1, 2007, and May 6, 2008, the BMV issued 257,100 free identification cards (Indiana BMV 2008b).<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the biggest impediment to acquiring identification is a trip to the BMV; a trip that is likely to be a bit further than the distance travelled to a polling place, but made only once every six years.<sup>6</sup>

The lead Supreme Court opinion in *Crawford* concurred with Indiana's position that requiring photo identification was minimally burdensome (*Crawford v. Marion County* 2008). In two dissenting opinions, Justices Souter and Breyer were less sanguine about the ease of availability of appropriate ID for the poor, the disabled, and the elderly. So while average visit times to the Indiana BMV are quite low, certain voters (first time voters, minorities, seniors, etc.) may face more individ-

ual scrutiny than others and face longer visit times. This may account for the disparity between the systematic state data on average visit time and anecdotal evidence of individual voters who faced difficulty in securing a free voter-identification card. Presently, there is extremely limited data regarding this claim.

In fact, efforts at making registration and voting easier have increased registration and turnout *only among those groups most likely to register and vote before the new measures were implemented* (Berinsky 2005) while occasionally providing a modest increase in the number of voters casting a ballot (Gronke, Galanes-Rosenbaum, and Miller 2007). According to Berinsky, "Individuals who utilize easy voting procedures tend to be more politically engaged and interested than those who do not take advantage of the opportunity" (2005, 482). Thus, we argue that voters who are interested enough to register and turn out to vote would also understand and secure the necessary form of identification needed to cast a ballot. We expect the individual motivation to participate in politics to not only minimize the empirical effects of voter-ID laws, but also to trump them when considered together.

## DATA AND METHODS

We tested our hypothesis using both aggregate and individual-level data. We collected aggregate data across four federal elections from 2000 to 2006. At the individual level, we examined data from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES).<sup>7</sup> Our main theoretical variables of interest are voter turnout and strictness of voter-identification laws. Aggregate turnout is the percentage of the voting-age population that actually voted in the 2000 through 2006 elections, and individual turnout is a self-reported measure (1 = voted, 0 = did not vote) captured during the 2006 CCES interviews. Strictness of voter-identification laws is measured using a six-point Guttman scale called ID Requirement, and we also consider a dummy variable indicating whether a state requires a photo ID or not (1 = photo ID required, 0 = not).<sup>8</sup>

Our analysis proceeds in two stages. First, we examined the bivariate relationships among turnout and state-ID law using analysis of variance (ANOVA) techniques. Second, we provided hierarchical regression model results for the turnout—state-ID-law relationship, controlling for other factors. In our aggregate data multivariate analysis, we examined a baseline model using only demographics and time (Model 1), then added the voter-identification law variables to the model (Model 2), before finally adding political variables to the model (Model 3). This allows us to reveal the effects of each variable of interest after controlling for other factors; thus, variables entered later are only allowed to account for variance unexplained by factors entered earlier. We used this same approach for our individual-level analysis using the 2006 CCES.

## VOTER-ID LAW AND TURNOUT

## Bivariate Results

Table 1 reports the distribution of states' identification requirements along with turnout at both the aggregate and individual level. The distribution of voting-ID requirements reveals



**Table 1**  
**Mean Turnout by Identification Requirement, 2000–2006**

	IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT	2000		2002		2004		2006	
		M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N
Aggregate Turnout	State Name	68.9%	10	48.6%	11	70.5%	10	45.5%	10
	Sign Name	66.1%	19	47.2%	19	70.3%	16	42.8%	13
	Match Signature	66.1%	8	40.6%	8	71.7%	7	40.0%	6
	ID with Name	66.0%	10	46.8%	10	70.9%	15	44.2%	17
	Photo ID	57.7%	1	44.2%	1	70.1%	2	37.7%	3
	Photo ID +	—	0	—	0	—	0	36.6%	1
	Total*	66.5%	48	46.3%	49	70.7%	50	43.1%	50
Individual Turnout (CCES)	State Name	—	—	—	—	—	—	63%	3905
	Sign Name	—	—	—	—	—	—	66%	9521
	Match Signature	—	—	—	—	—	—	71%	5623
	ID with Name	—	—	—	—	—	—	67%	12780
	Photo ID	—	—	—	—	—	—	63%	3598
	Photo ID +	—	—	—	—	—	—	57%	975
	Total	—	—	—	—	—	—	66%	36402

Note. ANOVA F-tests comparing aggregate mean turnout across identification requirement categories reveal no significant mean differences within years; however turnout in 2000 and 2004 were significantly higher than turnout in 2002 and 2006 (see ANOVA results in the text). Source: Aggregate data gathered by the authors and 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Survey (CCES).

\* North Dakota and Wisconsin are omitted in 2000 and Wisconsin is omitted in 2002 because the turnout data was not available for the states. In each of the three cases, however, state law required the standard of stating one's name to cast a regular ballot.

considerable variation across the states. In the 2000, 2002, and 2004 elections the majority of states required less demanding standards of stating or signing one's name in order to cast a regular ballot; yet, by 2006, we found the slight majority of states at the top end of the scale requiring items such as a photo identification and a signature.

A two-way random effects analysis of variance (ANOVA) comparing mean turnout across election year, voter identification laws, and the interaction between the two reveals only the year variable reaching statistical significance ( $F[3,5,545] = 140.1, p < 0.01$ ). Post-hoc Bonferroni adjusted  $t$ -tests indicate lower turnout in the midterm election years (2002 and 2006), and higher turnout in presidential election years (2000 and 2004). Both the voter-identification requirement variable ( $F[5,29] = 2.35, n.s.$ ), and the interaction of year and voter-identification requirement ( $F[12,161] = 0.46, n.s.$ ) were non-significant predictors of state-level turnout. Using the same random effects model, we also found no statistically significant relationship when treating our Guttman scale measure of identification stringency as an ordinal covariate ( $\beta = -0.81, SE = 0.46, n.s.$ ). Thus, controlling for the election year, state voter-identification laws produced no statistically significant effects on aggregate state-level turnout. This simple analysis suggests that from 2000 to 2006, state-level aggregate turnout and voter-ID requirements were unrelated.

Examining CCES data in Table 1, self-reported turnout appears to be lowest at the most stringent ID requirement; however, we examined the pattern across all stringency levels.

We estimated the relationship between voter-ID laws and turnout using multi-level logistic regression (1 = voted, 0 = did not vote) with state as the cluster variable (i.e., the random factor), and voter-ID law as the predictor. When the voter-ID law variable is treated as ordinal ( $\beta = 0.01, SE = 0.04, n.s.$ ) the results show a non-significant positive relationship, and when it is treated as photo ID required or not ( $\beta = -0.33, SE = 0.18, n.s.$ ) the result is a negative coefficient, but it is not statistically significant. In both cases, states with strict voter-ID requirements did not significantly reduce the probability of individual-level turnout.

#### Multivariate Results

Having shown state voting-requirement laws have no significant effect on state-level turnout, we turn to more rigorous analyses to illustrate the factors that should matter. To save space in the symposium, we do not report the large table containing the results of a random effects general linear model with maximum likelihood estimation clustering on state explaining turnout in four elections, 2000 through 2006.<sup>9</sup> Our analysis begins by accounting for demographic variables and time. These variables have been shown to be consistent predictors of turnout in the voting behavior literature. *Population* measures the size of each state's voting age population as measured by the Census.<sup>10</sup> *Percent black* and *percent Hispanic* measure the percentage of each state's citizens who are black and Hispanic, respectively. We also control for states in the *South* and interact *South* and *percent Black* to control for differences

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in southern states percentages of black voters. *Percent college* is a variable indicating the percentage of college graduates in each state and *percent urban* indicates the percentage of citizens living in urban areas. This basic model does a good job of explaining aggregate turnout with statewide turnout as the dependent variable. The results of the base model are consistent with the expectations established in the turnout literature with the variables accounting for race, education, and the South reaching statistical significance. The dummy variables for election year indicate that as expected, turnout was statistically higher in presidential election years (2000 and 2004). In our second and third models we added two different measures of identification requirements, the Guttman scale variable *ID Requirement* and a dummy variable *Photo ID* respectively.<sup>11</sup> Neither *ID Requirement* nor *Photo ID* reached statistical significance.

In the final two iterations of the aggregate model we included legal and political control variables. First we controlled for three legal factors: voter-ID requirements (*ID requirement*), the number of days between each state's voter-registration deadline and Election Day (*days*), and a dichotomous variable indicating whether a state's election laws changed with respect to voter ID since the previous election (*requirement change*).<sup>12</sup> If voter-ID laws depress turnout, they would be most likely to do so during the first election following a change in the requirements. We controlled for election-specific characteristics that could affect turnout. *Senate race* and *gubernatorial race* are dichotomous variables indicating whether there was a Senate or gubernatorial race in a state during an election year. *Spending* measures the total amount of spending in 2004 dollars by federal candidates in each year as reported by candidates to the Federal Election Commission.<sup>13</sup> We also controlled for *social issues* through a variable that indicates the number of social issues (abortion, same sex marriage, or stem cell research) that were on the ballot in a state during each election.<sup>14</sup> Among these variables only the number of social issues on the ballot (in both models) and federal campaign spending (in the photo-ID model) were statistically significant. The aggregate turnout results reveal no significant relationship between aggregate turnout and voter-ID laws, but many statistically significant relationships among political and demographic factors.

At the individual level there is a similar story. Our self-reported turnout analyses contain socio-demographics (e.g., sex, race, age, region, and socioeconomic status), political affiliation (i.e., party identification), and a 3-point ordinal measure of political interest (1 = not interested to 3 = very much interested). By controlling for political interest we tested an alternative hypothesis to the theoretical effects of voter-ID laws proffered by Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz (2007) and Vercellotti and Anderson (2006). Even if voter-ID laws do have pronounced empirical effects, once political interest is taken into account, the laws should not matter at all because once the motivation to participate is held constant there is little theoretical reason to believe voter-ID laws would dampen one's desire to vote. Similar to our aggregate analysis, we estimated five models; the first examining demographic factors, the next two examining the effects of voter-ID law, and the fourth and

fifth examining the effects of voter-ID law and a photo-ID requirement controlling for political interest.

Table 2 reports the results of mixed-model logistic regression analyses using states as a random factor variable, and shows that voter-identification laws—stringency and photo-ID required or not—have no statistically significant effects on self-reported turnout. However, political interest has both strong and significant effects. All five models essentially show statistically significant effects of basic demographic variables, but they also show how factors such as race and age can play an important role in voting behavior. Neither voter-ID-law stringency (Model 2) nor photo-ID requirement (Model 3) produced statistically significant effects at the threshold 95% confidence level, nor did they contribute to the explanatory power of the regression model (as indicated by the change in  $-2LL$  model fit values), especially when political-interest levels are considered. Of the 10 variables in each of the last two models, political interest has the strongest and most stable effects suggesting that political motivations trump ID requirements.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We are highly sensitive to those who are improperly and unjustifiably denied their right to vote; however, there is limited available data on the incidence of actual exclusion from voting due to the lack of proper identification. This is not to say that actually requiring a more strict form of identification is not on its face discriminatory; it is, and the laws deserve to be scrutinized. But, our question is whether these laws have significantly reduced turnout. Based on our analysis, they have not.

In the CCES, respondents answered questions about whether they were asked to show identification and if they were prevented from voting because of a problem with identification. Ansolabehere (2007) used this data to demonstrate that exclusions from voting are exceptionally rare. Twenty-two respondents out of the 36,421 person sample said voter-ID requirements prevented them from voting. Ansolabehere reports no more than 0.2% of potential voters claimed to have been excluded from voting due to ID requirements, and with no clear demographic pattern among them, there is very little empirical basis to raise the alarm over the implementation of identification requirements.<sup>15</sup> As Ansolabehere explains, "one would need a survey more than 10 times as large as this one to begin to gauge who was excluded and why. It is just that rare of a phenomenon" (2007, 8). Indeed, when non-voters in the Current Population Surveys (CPS) from 2000 to 2006 were asked why they did not vote, a lack of interest in politics was given as a reason twice as often as registration problems (which include a variety of issues, many of which are unrelated to having a photo ID at the polls on Election Day). Indeed, according to the CPS, even in states where photo IDs are required, 11.7% of non-voters claim that a lack of interest kept them home in 2006 while 6.3% cited general registration problems. General registration problems could include voters turned away due to a lack of identification but also includes voters who had moved without reregistering, felons, and a litany of other special cases. More telling was that one-third of 2006

Table 2

## Multi-level Model for Binary Outcomes Regression Coefficients Predicting Individual-Level Turnout

	MODEL 1 B (SE)	MODEL 2 B (SE)	MODEL 3 B (SE)	MODEL 4 B (SE)	MODEL 5 B (SE)
Intercept	-1.4 (.08)**	-1.4 (.14)**	-1.4 (.08)**	-2.9 (.17)**	-2.8 (.11)**
Age (years)	.02 (.00)**	.02 (.00)**	.02 (.00)**	.02 (.00)**	.02 (.00)**
Sex (Male = 1)	.21 (.03)**	.21 (.03)**	.21 (.03)**	.08 (.03)*	.08 (.03)**
Other Race	-.72 (.04)**	-.72 (.04)**	-.72 (.04)**	-.65 (.05)**	-.65 (.05)**
Black	-.82 (.05)**	-.83 (.05)**	-.82 (.05)**	-.69 (.06)**	-.69 (.06)**
Education	.30 (.01)**	.30 (.02)**	.30 (.01)**	.25 (.01)**	.25 (.01)**
Household Income	.04 (.00)**	.03 (.00)**	.04 (.00)**	.02 (.00)**	.02 (.00)**
Democrat	.13 (.03)**	.13 (.03)**	.13 (.03)**	.15 (.04)**	.15 (.04)**
Republican	.10 (.03)**	.10 (.03)**	.10 (.03)**	.15 (.04)**	.15 (.04)**
State ID Law Scale (Stringency)		.02 (.04)		.02 (.05)	
State ID Law—Photo ID required			-.29 (.18)		-.27 (.23)
Political Interest				.76 (.03)**	.76 (.03)**
Initial -2LL	-17239.4	-17230.4	-17230.4	-11526.7	-11526.6
Final -2LL	-17207.7	-17192.1	-17190.9	-11496.5	-11495.9
Wald $\chi^2$	1992.4**	1994.2**	1996.4**	2315.6**	2316.4**

Note: Analyses are based on unweighted sample CCES data; 2006 Analytic N level 1 = 22,006.

Analytic N level 2 = 49.

\*  $p \leq .05$ . \*\*  $p \leq .01$ .

Source: 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Survey (CCES).

CPS respondents from Indiana said they did not vote because they were “too busy,” which can arguably be interpreted to mean they were less interested in midterm voting; after all they did respond to the CPS.

At every level of analysis, and with multiple forms of data, we have consistently demonstrated that voter-identification laws appear to be a much smaller piece to the voting behavior puzzle than are factors such as the kinds of issues on a state ballot, the competitiveness of campaigns, the institutional structures of a particular election, socioeconomic factors, and individual-level motivational factors such as interest in politics. This is not to say that the rules of voting are unimportant or that there is no potential for disenfranchisement; rather our findings suggest that voter-ID laws have had no systematic effect on turnout thus far, and that some rules (voter-ID laws) do not affect turnout as much as others (same-day registration in Minnesota, a state with historically high turnout).

While voter-ID laws appear to have little to no main effects on turnout (see Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz 2007), our central argument is that other individual-level motivations such as interest in politics (Berinsky 2005), types of elections (Gronke, Galenas-Rosenbaum, and Miller 2007), and social issues (Tolbert, Grummel, and Smith 2001) would mediate any impacts related to ID rules. While strict ID requirements have the potential to burden some members of the electorate, our analyses suggest that these numbers are small. What's more, actions taken by state governments, interest groups, and political par-

ties are likely strong enough to induce those who are interested in voting, but have no more strict form of ID, to take action to ensure their voice is heard. This form of political resilience is the type we expect, and have seen from racial minorities, women, and other oppressed groups in America's history.

Until there is systematic, empirical evidence of discrimination in the *administration* or *availability* of required forms of identification, there is little reason to suspect voter-identification laws will significantly affect turnout. Thus, we fail to reject the null hypothesis that voter-ID laws do not significantly affect turnout. While all state-level voting laws should be heavily scrutinized as efforts to stop voter disenfranchisement are paramount, it is time we give some credit to the electorate and as Berinsky (2005) suggests, spend more time searching for ways to increase citizens' interest in politics. ■

## NOTES

1. Barreto, Nuño, and Sanchez (2009) report that educated, upper-income whites in Indiana are more likely to have a valid ID, suggesting that Indiana's voter-ID law disenfranchises legal voters; however, their analysis does not attempt to explain voter turnout in Indiana and therefore does not ask respondents about interest in voting or about voting. One can however reasonably conclude that those without identification will be less likely to vote.
2. Reconciling anecdotal evidence of voter disenfranchisement with more systematic analysis is a difficult task. To do so we would need reliable,



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large-scale exit polling data with a special emphasis on including those who were turned away at the polls.

3. Little work has been done with respect to voter-identification laws, but scholars have debated the significance of voter-registration laws on turnout for decades. Turnout varies significantly across different socio-demographic groups (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). Wolfinger and Rosenstone (1980) suggest that in states with restrictive registration laws those with lower levels of education vote less than those who have higher education levels. Nagler (1991) finds that restrictive voter-registration laws have no effect on turnout.
4. Brady, Verba, and Schlozman (1995) argue that education's effect on voting is "funneled through political interest" (283).
5. There is no available data with respect to whether the 257,000 (5.4% of the voting-age population in Indiana) people who secured a free photo ID were registered voters who voted in previous elections (when a photo ID was not required) but would have been prevented from voting under the new law. Without a public-opinion survey oversampling those who have acquired a free photo ID, we cannot know the impact of the secretary of state's efforts to help interested voters acquire the appropriate ID to be able to cast a ballot.
6. In addition, the voter-identification law had exceptions for senior citizens born outside of a hospital with no birth certificate issued, the indigent, those with religious objections to being photographed, and those living in state-licensed facilities that also serve as a polling place.
7. The CCES was conducted by Polimetrix in the week after the 2006 election. We used the CCES because of its large sample size ( $n = 36,421$ ), and the inclusion of political variables that we believe will help explain turnout.
8. We coded state voter-identification laws based on our reading of state election law and in consultation with state secretaries of state. At the low end of the scale, a 1 represents the least strict standard of a voter stating his or her name to establish identity. A 2 increases in strictness to signing one's name. A 3 is coded as matching one's signature to a signature on file at the polling location. A 4 represents a requirement that a voter present a form of identification that does not include a picture. A 5 is coded as a standard that requires a photo identification. The final level, a 6 includes the strictest requirement of presenting a valid, state-issued photo identification with an expiration date—a standard met only in Indiana. We add the sixth category because the requirements in Indiana are more burdensome than other state's photo-identification requirements. For further elaboration see Mycoff, Wagner, and Wilson (2007).
9. For those interested in examining the table, containing the results of the five models described in these pages, contact the authors at mycoff@udel.edu. The analysis includes 197 observations as turnout data was not available for North Dakota in 2000 or for Wisconsin in 2000 and 2002.
10. We also estimated the model with registered voters instead of population size; the results were equivalent.
11. The *Photo ID* variable adds levels five and six on our scale together yielding all states that required a photo id.
12. We collected the number of days between the registration deadline and Election Day from state laws. The *change in election law* variable is a dichotomous indicator based on our *identification requirement* variable.
13. We collected financial data from [www.fec.gov](http://www.fec.gov).
14. We collected ballot initiative data using information from the National Conference of State Legislatures (<http://www.ncsl.org/index.htm#>).
15. If, for example, photo identification was the standard nationwide, and we extrapolated from the survey data, then 0.2% of the 125 million who voted in 2004 would equate to approximately 250,000 voters nationwide, or about 5,000 voters per state.

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# A REPORT OF THE HERITAGE CENTER FOR DATA ANALYSIS

NEW ANALYSIS SHOWS  
VOTER IDENTIFICATION LAWS  
DO NOT REDUCE TURNOUT

DAVID B. MUHLHAUSEN, PH.D.,  
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# NEW ANALYSIS SHOWS VOTER IDENTIFICATION LAWS DO NOT REDUCE TURNOUT

*DAVID B. MUHLHAUSEN, PH.D., AND KERI WEBER SIKICH*

## OVERVIEW

The 2000 presidential election sparked a firestorm of debate relating to election reform in the United States. Since then, academics, the media, and elected officials have proffered opinions and implemented policies related to this important political issue. Topics that have been addressed in recent years range from modernizing voting machines and updating voter registration rolls to implementing stricter identification requirements for voting.

In 2002, Congress passed the Help America Vote Act (HAVA).<sup>1</sup> HAVA affects only federal elections and, among other things, requires that the states provide for provisional voting; create a computerized, centralized list of registered voters; and ensure that new voters who register by mail present identification before being allowed to vote in person. HAVA established the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) to serve as “a national clearinghouse and resource for information and review of procedures with respect to the administration of federal elections.”<sup>2</sup> Additionally, many state legislatures have enacted their own election reform legislation.<sup>3</sup>

Of the many election reforms currently being considered, one that has incited some of the most cantankerous debate is that of voter identification at the polls. For many, the idea of requiring voters to present identification in order to vote is anathema, tantamount to the poll taxes that were once used to prevent African-Americans from voting.<sup>4</sup> They contend that requiring identification at the polls will lead to lower voter turnout, especially among the poor, certain minorities, and the elderly. For others, such as the Protect Arizona Now organization that lobbied in favor of identification requirements for Arizona voters, the problem of voter fraud makes voter identification requirements a common-sense solution.<sup>5</sup> The standard argument goes that if a person has to show identification to board a plane or cash a check, why shouldn't he have to do the same in order to vote? Additionally, the proponents of stricter voter identification requirements argue that such a policy would bolster the public's faith in the legitimacy of elections and lead to greater voter turnout, not less.

Both sides raise valid concerns. However, even a cursory glance at the literature on voter identification requirements shows that there is a dearth of

1. Public Law 107-252.

2. Election Assistance Commission, “About the EAC,” at [www.eac.gov/about.asp?format=none](http://www.eac.gov/about.asp?format=none) (June 28, 2007).

3. For a review of recent state legislative activity on voter identification laws, see National Council of State Legislatures, “Requirements for Voter Identification,” February 1, 2007, at [www.ncsl.org/programs/legismgt/elect/taskfc/voteridreq.htm](http://www.ncsl.org/programs/legismgt/elect/taskfc/voteridreq.htm) (July 23, 2007).

4. John Fund, *Stealing Elections: How Voter Fraud Threatens Our Democracy* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2004), p. 137.

5. Protect Arizona Now, “Background Information,” at [www.pan2004.com/background.htm](http://www.pan2004.com/background.htm) (July 24, 2007).

empirical research on this issue. While there have been a few studies to address the effect of voter identification requirements using election data,<sup>6</sup> more research is needed in order to appropriately assess the legitimacy of either side's claims.

In response to this debate, the EAC awarded a grant to Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute of Politics and the Moritz College of Law at Ohio State University to study voter identification requirement laws. The resulting study, *Report to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission on Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements Pursuant to the Help America Vote Act of 2002*,<sup>7</sup> included a statistical analysis of the effect of voter identification requirements on voter turnout during the 2004 election by Professor Timothy Vercellotti of the Eagleton Institute.<sup>8</sup> A new version of the analysis with Timothy Vercellotti and David Anderson as authors was presented to the 2006 American Political Science Association conference.<sup>9</sup> Hereinafter, this study will be referred to as the "Eagleton Institute study."

The Eagleton Institute study found that more stringent voter identification requirements appeared to reduce voter turnout in 2004.<sup>10</sup> In the media, their study has been cited as demonstrating that the strengthening of voter identification requirements to reduce fraud has the side effect of suppressing minority voter turnout.<sup>11</sup>

This Center for Data Analysis report attempts to replicate the part of the Eagleton Institute study that used the publicly available November 2004 Current

Population Survey (CPS).<sup>12</sup> This analysis was done because several aspects of the Eagleton Institute study cast doubt on the validity of its findings:

- The Eagleton Institute used one-tailed hypothesis tests instead of the more commonly accepted two-tailed tests. The one-tailed test allows researchers to double their chances of finding statistically significant results.
- The 2004 voter identification laws of certain states were misclassified. For example, Arizona and Illinois were incorrectly classified as requiring voters to provide identification and state their name for authentication, respectively. However, in 2004 Arizona only required voters at polling stations to sign their name for authentication, while Illinois required poll workers to match the signatures of voters.
- Some of the variables used to predict the decision to vote were used inappropriately. For example, the Eagleton Institute study used the November 2004 CPS family income variable, which is an ordinal variable of unequal income ranges, as an interval-ratio variable. Using categorical variables as interval-ratio variables can lead to estimation problems.

After addressing these issues, our reanalysis finds that some of the original findings of the Eagleton Institute study are unfounded. Controlling for factors that influence voter turnout, voter identification laws largely do not have the negative impact on voter turnout that the Eagleton Institute suggests. When statistically significant and negative relation-

6. Timothy Vercellotti and David Anderson, "Protecting the Franchise, or Restricting It? The Effects of Voter Identification Requirements on Turnout," American Political Science Association conference paper, Philadelphia, Pa., August 31–September 3, 2006, and John R. Lott, Jr., "Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates," Department of Economics, SUNY Binghamton, August 18, 2006.
7. *Report to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission on Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements Pursuant to the Help America Vote Act of 2002*, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, and Moritz College of Law, Ohio State university, June 28, 2006.
8. Timothy Vercellotti, "Appendix C: Analysis of Effects of Voter ID Requirements on Turnout," in *Report to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission on Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements Pursuant to the Help America Vote Act of 2002*.
9. Vercellotti and Anderson, "Protecting the Franchise, or Restricting It?"
10. *Ibid.*
11. Christopher Drew, "Lower Voter Turnout Is Seen in State that Require ID," *The New York Times*, February 21, 2007, p. A16; Richard Wolf, "Study: Stricter Voting ID Rules Hurt '04 Turnout," *USA Today*, February 19, 2007, p. A5; Matthew Murray, "EAC Blasted Again for Burying Study," *Roll Call*, April 9, 2007; Tom Baxter and Jim Galloway, "Wonk Alert: Study Says the Heavier the Voter ID Requirements, the Lower the Turnout," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, February 21, 2007, Metro News.
12. Current Population Survey, November 2004: Voting and Registration Supplement, machine-readable data file, conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005.

ships are found, the effects are so small that the findings offer little policy significance. For example, our analysis indicates that:

- White survey respondents in photo identification states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than white respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.
- African-American respondents in non-photo identification states are 0.012 percent less likely to report voting than African-American respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

In other cases, no effect was found.

- In general, respondents in photo identification and non-photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.
- African-American respondents in photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to African-American respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.
- Hispanic respondents in photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to Hispanic respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

## BACKGROUND

When discussing voting behavior, it is important to consider the factors that influence whether an individual votes or not. According to the “Calculus of Voting” model, an individual will vote when the rewards from voting are positive and will abstain when they are not. The equation for the Calculus of Voting model is as follows:

$$R = PB - C + D.$$

The rewards (R) from voting are determined by multiplying the benefits (B) an individual receives when his preferred candidate wins over a less preferred candidate by the probability (P) that his vote will make a difference plus the benefits one receives from voting as an act of fulfilling one’s duty or civic obligation (D) minus the costs of voting (C).<sup>13</sup> This is the standard, rational model of voting and will be used to inform the following discussion of voter identification requirements and their effect on voter turnout.

The voter identification issue is often framed as being torn between the opposing aims of “access and integrity.”<sup>14</sup> By this we mean that it is commonly perceived that while voter identification laws may be effective at preventing ineligible individuals from voting (integrity), they may have an adverse effect on the ability of every eligible voter to vote (access). There have been only a few empirical studies on the impact of voter identification requirements,<sup>15</sup> but this does not translate into a lack of opinions on this topic.

Advocates for more stringent voter identification laws contend that this reform is vital to prevent voter fraud.<sup>16</sup> As more and more elections are won by slim margins, proponents of identification requirements argue that the chances are greater that voter fraud could affect election outcomes.<sup>17</sup> The potential for a small number of voters to have a significant impact on the outcome of an election became all too evident in the 2000 presidential election. Given that George W. Bush was declared the winner in Florida (and the next President) by a margin of 537 votes, it follows that even a small number of fraudulent votes (537+1) would matter a great deal.<sup>18</sup> In 2004, there were allegations of voter fraud in the Washington gubernatorial election in which Christine Gregoire won by a margin of 129

13. William Riker and Peter Ordeshook, “A Theory of the Calculus of Voting,” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (March, 1968), pp. 25–42.
14. Spencer Overton, “Voter Identification,” *Michigan Law Review*, Vol. 105, No. 631 (February 2007), p. 636.
15. Lott, “Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates,” and Vercellotti and Anderson, “Protecting the Franchise, or Restricting It?”
16. Protect Arizona Now, “Background Information.”
17. Commission on Federal Election Reform, *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections*, September 2005, p. 18, at [www.american.edu/iafer/report/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.american.edu/iafer/report/full_report.pdf) (July 24, 2007). Additionally, John Fund writes that “Election fraud...can be found in every part of the United States, although it is probably spreading because of the ever-so-tight divisions that have polarized the country and created so many close elections lately.” Fund, *Stealing Elections*, p. 5.
18. M.V. Hood III and Charles S. Bullock, “Worth a Thousand Words? An Analysis of Georgia’s Voter Identification Statute,” April 2007, p.1, at [http://electionlawblog.org/archives/GA%20Voter%20ID%20\(Bullock%20&%20Hood\).pdf](http://electionlawblog.org/archives/GA%20Voter%20ID%20(Bullock%20&%20Hood).pdf) (July 24, 2007).

votes.<sup>19</sup> Certainly the potential of voter fraud is a matter of concern.

Broadly defined, voter fraud is “the intentional corruption of the electoral process by voters.”<sup>20</sup> While voter fraud manifests itself in different forms, examples include individuals who vote but are ineligible (such as non-citizens and felons), individuals who vote multiple times in various precincts, and individuals who vote using someone else’s name. Because of the lack of research and the difficulty of collecting data on voter fraud, the extent to which these kinds of voter fraud occur is unknown. Additionally, for similar reasons, we are unaware of the extent to which voter identification laws would curb the type of voter fraud they are intended to prevent.

However, there are some examples of recorded voter fraud. The Department of Justice asserts that since the inception of the Attorney General’s Ballot Access and Voting Integrity Initiative in 2002, 120 people have been charged with election fraud, of which 86 have been convicted.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* reports that prosecutors in Milwaukee filed charges against 14 individuals for voter fraud in the 2004 election.<sup>22</sup> Of the 14, 10 were felons accused of voting and four were accused of double voting. Prosecutors obtained five convictions. For proponents of strict voter identification requirements, the knowledge that any voter fraud

occurs is sufficient to argue that more needs to be done to curb this problem.<sup>23</sup>

The most prevalent critique of the voter fraud argument is that “voter-fraud anecdotes are often misleading, incomplete, and unrepresentative.”<sup>24</sup> Proponents of this view contend that upon closer examination of claims of voter fraud, such charges turn out to be either nonexistent or infrequent. For instance, the Brennan Center for Justice at the New York University School of Law found that in 2004, voter fraud occurred 0.0009 percent of the time in the gubernatorial election in Washington and 0.00004 percent of the time in Ohio. They report that these percentages are akin to the likelihood of an American’s being killed by lightning.<sup>25</sup>

Opponents of voter identification requirements also argue that the few instances of voter fraud that may be prevented by identification laws do not outweigh the thousands of legitimate voters who would be disenfranchised because they lacked the necessary identification.<sup>26</sup> These critics argue that identification laws will have a negative impact on the ability of certain minorities, the elderly, the disabled, and the poor to vote.<sup>27</sup> It is presumed, and some studies have found, that people from these groups are less likely to possess drivers’ licenses or other government-issued identification.<sup>28</sup> It is also assumed that many from these groups would be unable or unwilling to acquire the necessary docu-

19. Commission on Federal Election Reform, *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections*, p. 4.

20. Lorraine Minnite, “The Politics of Voter Fraud,” Project Vote, p. 6, at [http://projectvote.org/fileadmin/ProjectVote/Publications/Politics\\_of\\_Voter\\_Fraud\\_Final.pdf](http://projectvote.org/fileadmin/ProjectVote/Publications/Politics_of_Voter_Fraud_Final.pdf) (July 24, 2007).

21. U.S. Department of Justice, “Fact Sheet: Protecting Voting Rights and Prosecuting Voter Fraud,” press release, October 31, 2006, at [www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2006/November/06\\_crt\\_738.html](http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2006/November/06_crt_738.html) (July 23, 2007).

22. Bill Glauber, “Her first vote put her in prison; Woman is one of five from city convicted of voter fraud,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, May 21, 2007, p. A1.

23. Overton, “Voter Identification,” p. 648.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 644.

25. Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, “The Truth About ‘Voter Fraud,’” September 2006, p. 1, at [www.brennancenter.org/dynamic/subpages/download\\_file\\_38347.pdf](http://www.brennancenter.org/dynamic/subpages/download_file_38347.pdf) (July 24, 2007).

26. Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law and Spencer Overton, “Response to the Report of the 2005 Commission on Federal Election Reform,” September 19, 2005, p. 2, at [www.carterbakerdissent.com/final\\_carterbaker\\_rebuttal092005.pdf](http://www.carterbakerdissent.com/final_carterbaker_rebuttal092005.pdf) (July 24, 2007).

27. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

28. See John Pawasarat, “The Driver License Status of the Voting Age Population in Wisconsin,” June 2005, at [www.uwm.edu/Dept/ETI/barriers/DriversLicense.pdf](http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/ETI/barriers/DriversLicense.pdf) (July 24, 2007); Hood and Bullock, “Worth a Thousand Words?”; and Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, “Citizens Without Proof: A Survey of Americans’ Possession of Documentary Proof of Citizenship and Photo Identification,” November 2006, at [www.federalectionreform.com/pdf/Citizens%20Without%20Proof.pdf](http://www.federalectionreform.com/pdf/Citizens%20Without%20Proof.pdf) (July 25, 2007).



mentation. Critics of strict identification laws further argue that the costs (in both time and money) of obtaining such documentation would be a deterrent to voting and would likely result in lower voter turnout among poor voters and those who do not have easy access to government offices.<sup>29</sup> It is for this reason that “ID requirements are compared to modern poll taxes.”<sup>30</sup>

While it is difficult to accurately assess the number of eligible voters who would be rendered unable to vote because they lack proper identification, some studies have attempted to estimate such figures by looking at the percentage of the population who do not have driver’s licenses. For instance, a Wisconsin study found that when considering the entire state, 80 percent of men and 81 percent of women had valid driver’s licenses. In contrast, only 45 percent of African-American men and 51 percent of African-American women had valid driver’s licenses. The percentages for Latinos were also lower (54 percent for men and 41 percent for women).<sup>31</sup> Similarly, a Georgia study found that among registered voters, non-whites, women, and the elderly were less likely to have government-issued photo identification (either a driver’s license or state identification).<sup>32</sup>

Although these figures shed light on the types of people who are less likely to have driver’s licenses, it is unadvisable to focus on this statistic alone. First, the data still cannot tell us whether those individuals without driver’s licenses have some other form of identification, such as an employee ID, student ID, social security card, or any other form of identification currently accepted in many states. Second, it cannot tell us about future behavior. Do voters in photo identification states who lack the necessary identification obtain the required identification (such as a driver’s license) when the state law is

changed? Take for instance the previous study conducted in Wisconsin, which currently does not require identification before voting (except for those requirements set forth in HAVA for new voters). Although approximately half of African-Americans in the state are currently without driver’s licenses, we do not know if those individuals will get driver’s licenses or state IDs if Wisconsin were to require voters to show identification before voting.

For these reasons, proponents of voter identification requirements are convinced that requiring identification at the polls would not be an excessive burden to voters. As previously mentioned, identification is required for many things that are considerably less important than voting (flying in a plane, buying alcohol, etc.). As “voting is equally important,” if not more important, the argument goes that it makes sense for someone to be required to show identification in order to cast a ballot.<sup>33</sup> Additionally, Senior Research Scientist John Lott at the University of Maryland Foundation points out that as “almost 100 countries require photo identifications to vote,” the United States would be hardly alone in requiring voters to show some form of identification at the polls.<sup>34</sup>

Those who oppose voter identification at the polls argue that other reforms are better suited to preventing voter fraud. For instance, critics of voter identification point to absentee ballots as “the Achilles heel of election security” because voters are often not required to show identification at all.<sup>35</sup> Yet absentee ballots have been largely left out of the voter identification requirement debate. This apparent discrepancy has been used by opponents of voter identification laws as evidence that supporters of such legislation are not interested in real voter fraud reform.<sup>36</sup> Rather, critics argue that voter identification supporters are using such laws

29. Task Force on the Federal Election System, John Mark Hansen, “Chapter 6: Verification of Identity,” July 2001, p. 4, at [www.tcf.org/Publications/ElectionReform/NCFER/hansen\\_chap6\\_verification.pdf](http://www.tcf.org/Publications/ElectionReform/NCFER/hansen_chap6_verification.pdf) (July 24, 2007).

30. Timothy Ryan, “Voter ID Laws Need Measured Implementation,” AEI-Brookings *Election Reform Project Newsletter*, April 17, 2007, at [www.reformelections.org/commentary.asp?opedid=1555](http://www.reformelections.org/commentary.asp?opedid=1555) (July 24, 2007).

31. Pawasarat, “The Driver License Status of the Voting Age Population in Wisconsin,” p. 3.

32. Hood and Bullock, “Worth a Thousand Words?” p. 14.

33. Commission on Federal Election Reform, *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections*, p. 18.

34. Lott, “Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates,” p. 2.

35. Ryan, “Voter ID Laws Need Measured Implementation.”

36. Editorial, “Voter Suppression in Missouri,” *The New York Times*, August 10, 2006, p. 22, and Lott, “Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates,” p. 6.

as an attempt to suppress voter turnout by increasing the costs of voting (the “C” from the Calculus of Voting model).<sup>37</sup>

Another argument proffered by supporters of voter identification requirements is that such laws are necessary to maintain the public’s faith in the integrity of elections. The Commission on Federal Election Reform (Carter–Baker Commission) at American University asserts that “the electoral system cannot inspire public confidence if no safeguards exist to deter or detect fraud or to confirm the identity of voters.”<sup>38</sup> This argument, “the ensuring integrity hypothesis,” contends that public faith in the honesty of elections actually “encourages additional voter participation.”<sup>39</sup> Proponents argue that voter identification laws will bolster the public’s faith in the outcome of elections. This will increase, not decrease, turnout because voters will feel a greater pride in voting (increasing the “D” or duty component of voting).

Voter identification laws are exceptionally popular among the general public. In a survey of some 36,000 voters, Professors Stephen Ansolabehere and Elting R. Morison of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found that 77 percent of respondents supported voter identification requirements.<sup>40</sup> For the most part, the majority of respondents supported such laws regardless of race, location (Northeast, Midwest, etc.), and political ideology. While those who identified themselves as conservatives had the highest percentage of agreement with identification requirements (at 95 percent), even those who identified themselves as “very liberal” had 50 percent agreement with voter identification laws.<sup>41</sup> Regarding race, more than 70 percent of whites,

African-Americans, and Hispanics supported voter identification laws.<sup>42</sup> Additionally, Ansolabehere found only 23 instances out of 36,000 where an individual reported being unable to vote because he lacked the necessary identification.<sup>43</sup>

These survey data are supported by actual voter behavior. In 2004, when Arizona voters voted on Proposition 200, which would require voter identification at the polls as evidence of citizenship, it passed with 56 percent of the vote.<sup>44</sup>

Ultimately, it is not the intent of this paper to debate the merits of either side’s arguments. Rather, we want to present the major arguments on either side of this issue as background to our analysis. However, the paper does intend to examine more closely one of the claims of this debate: that stricter voter identification requirements depress voter turnout. In order to do that, it is necessary to discuss the different voter identification requirements across the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

Voter identification requirements, if any, differ by state, so there is great variability in the way voters from different parts of the country are required to verify their identity before casting a ballot. Some states rely on the honor system where voters merely have to give their names to the election official.<sup>45</sup> Other states only require a signature,<sup>46</sup> with some states going a step further and actually matching the signature to a previously signed document.<sup>47</sup> States with more stringent requirements ask that voters provide identification<sup>48</sup> or photo identification.<sup>49</sup>

The Eagleton Institute study identified two categories of identification requirements (maximum

37. Editorial, “Voter Suppression in Missouri.”

38. Commission on Federal Election Reform, *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections*, p. 18.

39. Lott, “Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates,” p. 4.

40. Stephen Ansolabehere and Elting R. Morison, “Access Versus Integrity in Voter Identification Requirements,” Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, February 2007, at [http://web.mit.edu/polisci/portl/cces/material/NYU\\_Identification1.pdf](http://web.mit.edu/polisci/portl/cces/material/NYU_Identification1.pdf) (July 24, 2007).

41. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

44. Election returns obtained from Arizona Secretary of State’s Web site at [www.azsos.gov/election/2004/General/Canvass2004General.pdf](http://www.azsos.gov/election/2004/General/Canvass2004General.pdf).

45. As of 2004, such states included Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, among others.

46. For instance, California, the District of Columbia, and Michigan were all “sign name” states in 2004.

47. Nevada, Oregon, and Pennsylvania were all “signature match” states in 2004.